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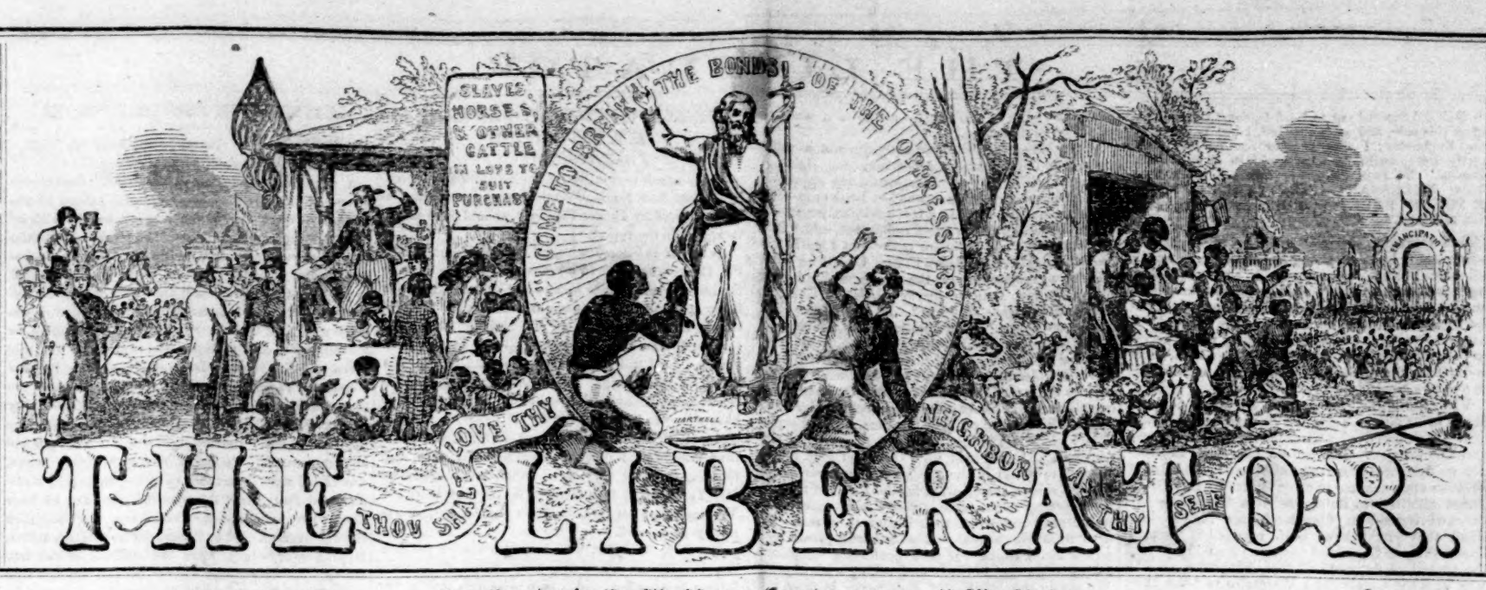
SLAVES, HORSES, & OTHER CATTLE IN LOTS TO SUIT PURCHASERS
I COME TO BREAK THE BONDS OF THE OPPRESSED
THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THYSELF
EMANCIPATION
THE LIBERATOR.

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES. . . . From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, CIVIL, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of CONGRESS extend to interference with the institution of slavery, IN EVERY WAY IN WHICH IT CAN BE INTERFERED WITH, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of States, burdened with slavery, to a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a war power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to carry on the war, and MUST CARRY IT ON, ACCORDING TO THE LAWS OF WAR; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."—J. Q. ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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Refuge of Oppression.

THE FREMONT RATIFICATION MEETING AT NEW YORK.

The meeting of the Radical Democracy, as they style themselves, at New York, to ratify the nomination of Fremont, was largely attended on Monday evening, 27th ult., but the manifestations of the audience gave evidence that there were many McClellan and a considerable number of Lincoln men present. The speeches, however, were violently anti-Lincoln. O. A. Brownson made the leading speech, and showed all the vigor, bitterness and ability which he displayed thirty years ago. We give a few extracts from his speech:—

I am not a party man; I never was a party man, for I never found a party yet that I could not find fault with. (Hear, hear.) I probably have found fault with all parties that have ever been organized in this country, sometimes acting with them, and sometimes against them. But I have this to say, and let it be as my confession, that in 1856 I voted for James Buchanan. That is bad enough. (Hisses.) Hear a little more; but in 1860 *I did the far worse thing of voting for Abraham Lincoln.* (Great laughter, hisses, and applause; cheers for McClellan and Lincoln.) Having been wrong twice, I do not mean to be wrong the third time ("Bully"); and now I am ready to support any man who will defeat Abraham Lincoln. (Hisses and applause.) My first object—the thing which lies nearest my heart—is to save the integrity of the Union and the Constitution, which has made its strength and its glory.

I am ready to support any party or any man—("Horatio Seymour?")—*yes, or Vallandigham,* (hisses and cheers,) *aye, or Fernando Wood* ("Good," and applause)—any man who can defeat the reëlection of Abraham Lincoln. Understand me; while that is my first object, to defeat the nominations of the Baltimore Convention—("Bully," and applause)—I am ready to join with all honest, all sincere, and all earnest Americans or American citizens who will defeat shoddy and shoddy's de-fenders.

(A voice—What is the meaning of shoddy?)

Dr. Brownson—Ask Mr. Lincoln's friends, and they will tell you. (Laughter.) You will have all your questions answered before I get through. I am not in favor of some men whose names I have given; but I tell you I prefer these men to worse men, and *worse men I consider those who have the management of the government now.* (Applause.) * * *

I did not support the reelection of Lincoln, for the reason that I believe, as firmly as I can believe anything that is in the future, that his reëlection will be necessarily the independence and separate nationality of the Southern Confederacy. I have suffered no personal inconvenience; I have had no personal slight from this Administration. So far as I am personally concerned, it has paid me, from the President down to all the departments, more respect than I ever received from any other administration. I am too old to hope for anything from a change, and if not too old, still too infirm. I have no personal interest in it; all my personal interests would lead me to support this Administration; but I believe it *corrupt and rotten to the core.* (Great applause and considerable confusion.) And believing that—

The President here rose and said—Gentlemen, I ought to say, as Chairman of the meeting, if you will please hear me, that I am informed that from fifty to one hundred employees of the New York Custom House are here in this audience. ("That's so.") I wish to say to those who are not office-holders in the Custom House, if they will keep quiet, and let all the noise be made by those who are office-holders, we shall have less than we otherwise would have. * * * *

I have lived now to be over sixty years of age. I have maintained free speech from my youth up. I have always spoken my honest convictions, and by the eternal God, I will speak them or I will die. (Tremendous cheers.) Never will I have my mouth gagged by *Abraham Lincoln's emissaries,* or any of his officials, or any of his servants. (Renewed applause.) He may send me to Fort Lafayette or to the Old Capitol Prison—send me where he pleases—but as long as I have strength, as long as I have the tongue and am able to speak at all, I will speak freely what I honestly believe—("Good," and applause)—and when I can speak no longer, as long as I am able to make one sign with my hand, it shall be in favor of free thought, free speech, free press, freedom for all men, black, white, red and yellow, all over the globe.

Am I to be put down here by shoddy? ("No, no.") Am I to be put down by Custom House officers? ("No, no.") Am I to be put down by the Secretaries of State, of War, or the Treasury, or by the President of the United States? ("No, no," and applause.) Never. (A voice—"Nor by copperheads either.") As for copperheads, there is not enough of them to count. (Another voice—"They are here, and cheering for McClellan.") Let them be here. McClellan is a very respectable man, and it is not worth while to say anything about General McClellan *till you can find a better General than he was proved to be.* I never was a military or political partisan of General McClellan; but I owe him this reparation, to say that *his successors have made him respectable as a General.* (Cheers.)

I will sum up what I have got to say in a very few words. I oppose the reëlection of Abraham Lincoln because I believe it incompatible with the safety of my country—because I believe him utterly incompetent for the position which he holds—and because I have made it a rule through my life never to believe in the honesty of a man who has the soubriquet of "honest." *There is not a cunninger man in this country than Abraham Lincoln.* You talk about the Cabinet. It is all idle. Give him any Cabinet you please, and the Administration will not change. As he said to me himself personally: "Mr. Seward does not run this government; I am here, and not a single measure of any importance is taken by any department of this government without my knowledge, and without my express approbation." (Cries of "good, good.") I say nothing against William H. Seward. I say nothing against any member of his Cabinet, excepting so far as the Secretary of the Treasury is independent of him. I do not like Mr. Chase's financial system. *I fear more of danger from that than I do from the arms of the Southern rebels.* (Applause.)

I hope, I try to persuade myself to hope, that we will get through without a financial collapse, and which contradicts all my principles of finance and currency. It goes counter to every principle that, during that long controversy which we had from 1838 to 1842, after the best study I could give the subject, I had fixed for myself. I believe in no paper money—(applause)—nor do I believe that a Secretary who is issuing twelve or sixteen different kinds of paper money, is a suitable man to be at the head of the Treasury Department. Something of that may be due to Mr. Chase, but in all else I hold Mr. Lincoln personally responsible. I hold him responsible for all the waste of treasure—all the waste of precious life during the last two years. (Applause.) With a man at the head of the government, a man who knew how not merely to manage parties, to play off one clique against another, a man who understood the people and had sympathy with them, who had a soul that could kindle up the souls of others, draw out the spirit of the people, concentrate and direct it against the rebellion—that rebellion would have been put down in the year 1861. (Applause.) There is no use of deceiving ourselves about it.

LETTER OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Wendell Phillips's very remarkable letter on the approaching presidential canvass will attract widespread attention both from the novelty and boldness of the views, as well as for the force and point with which they are presented. The great abolitionist sees and acknowledges that the country will be ruined if Lincoln is reëlected, and the present administration continued in power, and he is, moreover, fairly compelled to own that the hope of the nation is in the Democratic party. He calls for an honest union of all the elements of opposition to Lincoln, to save the country from the calamity of another four years of such administration as we now suffer from. Wendell Phillips is usually erratic, crotchety, and unreliable, but the letter we quote elsewhere contains more common sense than the whole volume of his recently published abolition diatribes. —*New York World.*

☞ The letter here approvingly referred to by this copperhead journal, (which combines in itself the Scriptural trinity described as "the World, the Flesh, and the Devil,") is the one we print in another column, addressed to the Editor of the New York *Independent. The World* puts the following caption to the letter:—

CLEVELAND VERSUS BALTIMORE.

Wendell Phillips writes a Stinging Letter on the Baltimore Platform—its Clap-trap Compliments to Lincoln—an Administration which shows vigor only in Peaceful Cities—a Government feared only by its Loyal Citizens—"The Union well-nigh Wrecked."

No Hope save in a Union of Lincoln's Opponents.

TREASON IN CONGRESS.

Fernando Wood made a characteristic copperhead speech in Congress last week.

He said that it amounted to very little what the House should do on the subject of conscription. The whole principle is anti-republican and anti-American, and when force is resorted to, the fundamental principle of republican government, viz., the assent of the people, is violated. The law which this bill proposes to amend is a failure. He repeated that until some government or administration shall adopt the policy of reconstruction and concession, and return to the principles on which the government is founded, we will go on from one expedient to another, in a down-hill course, to disruption, destruction and disintegration. Until the olive branch is extended, we cannot have peace, and peace must be reached through the civil and not the military department. He would lay down his life and all that he held dear to restore the Union and the Constitution, and it was because he was in favor of the Union that he was opposed to the war. War is disunion, annihilation and destruction.

Already there has been expended more blood and treasure than could be accumulated together again for twenty-five years, and the fact that laws of this character are resorted to shows that the people are against the war. In his opinion all the States in the Union can be once more gathered together, without the firing of another gun, or the shedding of another drop of blood. Mr. Wood then proceeded to prove his assertion by referring to the unanimous address of the members of the Confederate Congress, in which they said they were willing for peace on terms consistent with the honor, integrity and independence of the States, and compatible with the safety of their domestic institutions. He also referred to other Southern authorities. In conclusion, Mr. W. said that no party could succeed in the Presidential election that does not meet this issue fairly, squarely and bravely. Had he the power he would put two candidates in the field—one for war and the other for negotiation and reconstructing the Union—and he would forfeit all his present and future prosperity and possessions if the peace candidate did not receive an overwhelming majority. He had expressed himself independent of all parties.

AN ILL-OMENED SHADOW.

President Lincoln goes to the front! That ill-omened shadow that two years ago fell upon the army of the Peninsula, threatens again to blight it. That presence that proved the forerunner of disasters and of treachery, after the victory of Antietam, now darkens the fate of Grant's army. It is two years since President Lincoln visited the army of McClellan on the York River, and promised its commander the reënforcements he needed. The promise was the prelude to a deliberate betrayal. It was in the Fall afterwards that he visited McClellan on the glorious field of Antietam. He was jovial and jocose in appearance—called for a negro song amid the scenes of carnage, and cracked festive jokes in the ears of the dying. He concealed his treacherous purpose of removing the Commander who had saved his army, and returned to Washington only to carry out his fatal purpose. How many hundreds of thousands of men have not been sacrificed by that deep deceit and base betrayal! He goes again to the front! What new calamity is in store for us; and for that heroic and shattered army which has found a worse enemy in the perverted counsels at Washington than in the entrenched hosts of Lee?—*Albany Argus.*

It is not at all wonderful that we do not succeed better when a Chase, a Stanton and a Welles paralyze the three vital departments of the government. But Mr. Lincoln's excuse for not removing these imbeciles is one of the real wonders of the age. In a conversation with Dr. Brownson, the President said of his Cabinet:—"They do not run this government. I am here, and not a single measure of any importance is taken by any department of the administration without my knowledge and express approbation." This remark shows not only that President Lincoln is responsible for all the blunders, outrages and corruptions of his administration, but also that he should at once surround himself with able men, who can make up for his deficiencies, restrain him from errors, and suggest to him valuable practical ideas.—*N. Y. Herald.*

Selections.

THE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION.

The correspondence between the Committee of the National Union Convention and President Lincoln, including theofficial notification of the President's nomination and his letter of acceptance, was as follows:—

NEW YORK, June 14, 1864.

Hon. Abraham Lincoln:

SIR: The National Union Convention, which assembled in Baltimore on the 7th of June, 1864, has instructed us to inform you that you were nominated with enthusiastic unanimity for the Presidency of the United States, for four years from the 4th of March next.

The resolutions of the Convention, which we have already had the honor of placing in your hands, are a full and clear statement of the principles which inspired its action, and which, as we believe, the great body of Union men in the country heartily approve. Whether those resolutions express the national gratitude to our soldiers and sailors, or the national scorn of compromise with rebels, and consequent dishonor, or the patriotic duty of union and success; whether they approve the Proclamation of Emancipation, the Constitutional amendment, the employment of former slaves as Union soldiers, or the solemn obligation of the Government promptly to redress the wrongs of every soldier of the Union of whatever color or race; whether they declare the inviolability of the pledged faith of the nation, or offer the national hospitality to the oppressed of every land, or urge the union by railroad of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans; whether they recommend public economy and vigorous taxation, or assert the fixed popular opposition to the establishment by armed force of foreign monarchies in the immediate neighborhood of the United States, or declare that those only are worthy of official trust who approve unreservedly the views and policy indicated in the resolutions—they were equally hailed with the heartiness of profound conviction.

Believing with you, sir, that this is the people's war for the maintenance of a Government which you have justly described as "of the people, by the people, for the people," we are very sure that you will be glad to know, not only from the resolutions themselves, but from the singular harmony and enthusiasm with which they were adopted, how warm is the popular welcome of every measure in the prosecution of the war, which is as vigorous, unmistakable and unfaltering as the national purpose itself. No right, for instance, is so precious and sacred to the American heart as that of personal liberty. Its violation is regarded with just, instant and universal jealousy. Yet in this hour of peril, every faithful citizen concedes that, for the sake of national existence and the common welfare, individual liberty may, as the Constitution provides in case of rebellion, be sometimes summarily constrained, asking only with painful anxiety that in every instance, and to the last detail, absolutely necessary power shall not be hastily or unwisly exercised.

We believe, sir, that the honest will of the Union men of the country was never more truly represented than in this Convention. Their purpose we believe to be the overthrow of armed rebels in the field, and the security of permanent and union by liberty and justice under the Constitution. That these results are to be achieved amidst cruel perplexities, they are fully aware. That they are to be reached only by cordial unanimity of counsel is undeniable. That good men may sometimes differ as to the means and the time, they know. That in the conduct of all human affairs the highest duty is to determine, in the angry conflict of passion, how much good may be practically accomplished, is their sincere persuasion. They have watched your official course, therefore, with unflagging attention; and amidst the bitter taunts of eager friends and fierce denunciation of enemies; now moving too fast for some, now too slowly for others, they have seen you throughout this tremendous contest patient, sagacious, faithful, just; leaning upon the heart of the great people, and satisfied to be moved by its mighty pulsations.

It is for this reason that, long before the Convention met, the popular instinct had plainly indicated you as its candidate; and the Convention, merely recorded the popular will. Your character and career prove your unswerving fidelity to the cardinal principles of American liberty and of American Constitution. In the name of that liberty and Constitution, sir, we earnestly request your acceptance of this nomination; reverently commending our beloved country, and you, its Chief Magistrate, with all its brave sons, who, on sea and land, are faithfully defending the good old American cause of equal rights, to the blessing of Almighty God,

We are, sir, respectfully,
Your friends and fellow citizens,

[Signed by WILLIAM DENNISON, Ohio, *Chairman,* and delegates from all the loyal States and Territories.]

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S ACCEPTANCE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 27, 1864.

Hon. William Dennison and others a Committee of the National Union Convention:

Gentlemen,—Your letter of the 14th instant, formerly notifying me that I have been nominated by the Convention you represent for the Presidency of the United States for four years from the fourth of March next, has been received. The nomination is gratefully accepted, as the Resolutions of the Convention—called the platform—are heartily approved.

While the resolution in regard to the supplanting of the republican government upon the Western Continent is fully concurrved in, there might be misunderstanding were I not to say that the position of the Government in relating to the action of France in Mexico as assumed through the State Department and indorsed by the Convention, among the measures and acts of the Executive, will be faithfully maintained so long as the state of facts shall leave that position pertinent and applicable.

I am specially gratified that the soldier and the seaman were not forgotten by the Convention, as they forever must and will be remembered by the grateful country for whose salvation they devote devote their lives.

Thanking you for the kind and complimentary terms in which you have communicated the nomination and other proceedings of the Convention, I subscribe myself,

Your obedient servant.
ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

☞ Hon. John F. Potter, of Winconsin, has been appointed Consul General to British America, vice Joshua R. Giddings deceased.

THE LATE HON. JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS.

We give below the remarks of Rev. Mr. Cordner, at a meeting held in Montreal, for the purpose of passing resolutions, expressing the high regard of the citizens for the admirable qualities of the character of the late Hon. Joshua R. Giddings, Consul-General of the United States to Canada, and their appreciation "of his great services in the cause of human rights by his active and consistent opposition to slavery throughout a lengthened public career." The Mayor of the city presided, and many prominent gentlemen were present, and spoke feelingly of the public loss which had been sustained in the death of Mr. Giddings.

Mr. Cordner, in moving the first of a series of resolutions, said the call of the Hon. J. R. Giddings from amongst them by sudden death had come as a sad surprise to all who had the privilege in any degree of his personal acquaintance. The necessarily prompt removal, too, of his remains had caused disappointment, and led to a wish for some public testimony of regard to his memory; hence the present meeting to declare their respect for his consistency, and long indomitable championship of the primal rights of man, be he black or white. Although called away suddenly, his death could not be regarded as premature, for he had arrived at the ripe age of three score and ten, and had left a public record of a worthy life. Throughout the many temptations of public life, which especially beset the statesmen and official characters on this continent, he had walked with a firm step, keeping his eye fixed on first principles, and never deviating into the tortuous paths of expediency or injustice, as against a certain class of helpless men. His career had been a long one, and, as far as the speaker remembered, the name of Giddings had always been familiar to him as the outspoken friend of the despised African race; at a time, too, when few had the moral courage to stand up, like himself, in high places, and say a word in its behalf. His stand upon this question would ultimately place him among his countrymen in the same noble position as that held by Clarkson and Wilberforce amongst theirs, as the opponents of human bondage throughout the British domains, so that wherever the English flag waved, it became the sign of freedom to every man to have a right in his own person. This was a glorious distinction, and let every man born under that flag cherish the idea as a just source of national pride. During the dominancy of the Southern interest in the American Union, the sight of that flag had made the heart of the crew of the slave ship tremble; for they knew well that the cruiser who carried the united crosses of St. George and St. Andrew was in earnest, and the result was that they gave her as wide a berth as possible. Indeed, on this question of slavery there was in England but one opinion. The genius of her laws and the disposition of her people alike forbade sympathy with or any movement upon British soil in behalf of the course of those who upheld and practised it. That the Hon. J. R. Giddings should have died on British territory as a representative of his nation was a circumstance in itself marking a new era in his country's affairs; for, before the last presidential election, no man holding his views could have been allowed to fill such a situation; for it was a standing taunt, that men holding his views were merely the tools of the British Government. This sentiment operated in the highest political circles, where Southern feeling was dominant, and hence arose the insult which the Prince of Wales received at Richmond, and which showed in such dark contrast with the reception accorded to him throughout the North. But Mr. Giddings had never lent himself to the prejudice, and to the cry against England. It was in June, of the year 1842, that he made one of his most notable speeches in Congress. A bill was before that body for the reduction of the army, but it was opposed on the ground that there might be a war with England on account of the "Creole" affair, then pending. This "Creole" was a vessel sailing from Richmond with a cargo of slaves, and when upon the high seas they arose to assert their manhood. They seized the ship, and carried her into Nassau, N. P. There, it being a British possession, they were no longer slaves. Under Southern influences, however, compensation was required for these men for having thus taken possession of themselves. Mr. Giddings condemned this demand, and said that the British Government ought not, and would not concede it. This was but one incident among many of the same character in his public career. He had received his appointment amongst us at a most trying juncture. He came here when civil commotion raged in his own land. The various questions of international law, just then arising, made his place, and also that of other foreign representatives of his Government, one of great delicacy,—the more so in the case of those accredited to England or her dependencies, since she being the most commercial country of all others, with which the United States held familiar intercourse, was likely to have intricate and perplexing international questions to settle more frequently with his government than could be the case with other nations. Besides, the press of England was free; hence, the discussion of these questions was open to every one, competent or otherwise, who thought he could write for the newspapers. The discussion was carried on with heat, and often in great measure in ignorance of the facts, and there was much acrimony on all sides. During this state of things, Mr. Giddings came here to discharge his duties as consul; and had it not been for these circumstances, he would have been much more widely known and appreciated amongst us, since he always desired to cultivate feelings of friendship between Canada and his own country. He was a firm friend of the Reciprocity Treaty, and wished for its continuance. He looked upon his nation as having sprung from the same strong and liberty-loving stock of men, and desired to see the flag of the United States as free from the stain of slavery as was that of Britain; and for this it was that the speaker respected his memory, and was happy to move the resolutions.

VALLANDIGHAM.

The return of Vallandigham is evidently designed by the copperheads as their trump card in the Presidential canvass. They show by their bearing that they expected him. Their treatment of him is that accorded to an invited guest. He has returned to play his part in a plot deeply laid, and for which long and elaborate preparation has been made. He is under sentence to be "kept in close custody during the continuance of the war," in case of his return within our lines. He risks the penalty, and comes back to defy the authorities. For more than a year since—May 19, 1864—he has been banished. During all that period his fellow partisans have been crowning him as a martyr, and seeking on his account to excite odium against the Government. They have waited until now to bring him back within our lines. They announce their purpose to "protect" him; he avers that he will "demand, and by his own act, vindicate" his position on our soil. The whole affair moves on like the acts of a tragedy. His first appearance is at a "Democratic" District Convention, where he is chosen a delegate to Chicago. The next day, a State Convention in Illinois pass resolutions in his honor, and pledge the Democracy for his defence. They array themselves for a conflict with the Government, and seek thus to excite serious troubles in the Northwest for effect in the Presidential campaign.

The instant this conspiracy reaches the open violation of the laws, it should, and doubtless will be, crushed by the strong arm. But the authorities should be in no haste to fall into the snare set for them. Vallandigham is a creature of no great account. So long as he is content to play the martyr, and to insist that he is "the only man of the party who is a victim to arbitrary power," he may well be left to run at large. He is doing no harm by recording his testimony to this effect: "For more than one year, no public man has been arrested or newspaper suppressed within the State for an expression of opinion, while hundreds in public assemblages and through the press, with language and violence in which I never indulged, have criticised and condemned the acts and policy of the Administration, denounced the war, and maintained even the propriety of recognizing the Southern Confederacy." His sentence of close custody may be wisely held in suspense, while he is put upon his good behavior. He is small game, not worth the commotion which his re-arrest would occasion. It will be well enough to keep an eye upon him, and upon those into whose counsels he comes. Overt acts of treason, any open manifestation of conspiracy against the Government, should be met by preparations ample to thwart and punish them. But it would be worse than folly, by a weak show of authority, to invite organized opposition, and to lift Vallandigham to the rank of a leader of a serious outbreak. The wise course for the Government will be, to let him severely alone, unless he shall venture to play the traitor still further. In that case, the laws provide a punishment for him.

If he shall be left thus to himself, he can make little factitious capital, and will prove a sharp and piercing thorn in the side of the Democracy. His sentiments he is frank enough to express. His name is a synonym for all that is odious in political position to the loyal people. He will be at Chicago, and give orders to the Convention. The candidate he will help to nominate will bear stains not to be washed away. He will not be silent; he will not hide his light under a bushel. He will be a landmark of the real position of his party. He will, by his advocacy, expose the antagonism of its leaders to the war and to liberty. He is one of those who is more injurious to his friends than to his foes. Well may the Democratic managers be alarmed, and whisper: "What shall we do with this fellow who talks out our plans and purposes? We have made a hero of him, and he comes to torment us by assuming leadership. Our palaver in his behalf was designed to harm the Government, not to help him; but here he comes like a victor, wearing as laurels the platitudes out of which we meant to make political capital."

These are not the first engineers hoisted by their own petard; not the only conjurors who have found the evil spirits, called up by their spells, take bodily possession of the tyros in *diablerie.—Utica Herald.*

THE FREMONT MOVEMENT.

The Fremont Convention at Cleveland appears to have made very little favorable impression upon the people of the country, and is likely to prove damaging only to the persons who originated it. There have been, without question, a great many of those who supported Fremont in 1856, who have disliked the course of the Administration in its treatment of that General. They thought he was unfairly dealt with in Missouri; that he was not allowed to carry out plans, which later, in the hands of other leaders, led to substantial and decided successes in the West; that neither his feelings as an officer nor the necessities of the service were at all consulted when Gen. Pope was placed over him in Virginia; that since that time he has been, without reason and to the detriment of the public service, kept from any active command; and that the whole course of this treatment has indicated a purpose on the part of the Administration, either to keep him in a subordinate position where he could not gain any brilliant military reputation, or to drive him from the service. It has also been remembered to Fremont's credit, that he, first of all the military or civil authorities, made an effort to strike at the foundation of the rebellion by liberating the slaves of rebels, and there are not a few men in the country who even now believe that the method by which the commander of the department of Missouri proposed to accomplish this act of emancipation was more strictly in conformity with the laws of war, and the moment seized by him more opportune, than the time and manner afterwards adopted by the President. For these reasons, and because he was once the leader of a hard-fought political campaign in which the anti-slavery sentiment of the nation rallied round his name, and made a most gallant struggle against the aristocratic and pro-slavery parties of the country, almost then winning the victory which was afterwards achieved under Abraham Lincoln, Fremont has all through the war had a popularity among the masses of the people which has, until recently, given him some reason to suppose that he might become a successful candidate for the Presidency. With this impression he went to work to secure the nomination, and the Cleveland Convention is the result. The present effect of that convention is not calculated to encourage Fremont. The best portion of the people who were really his friends have seen in that assemblage, and in his letter accepting the nomination, an evident purpose of defeating, if possible, Mr. Lincoln's re-election, even at the risk of electing such a man as McClellan or Vallandigham instead, and they have regretted his course, and are reluctantly giving up their faith in the man. The animus of personal grief, spite, bitterness and hatred against Mr. Lincoln is so apparent in Fremont's behavior, he is so evidently shaping his course so as to conciliate rather the friends of the rebellion than the friends of the Administration, that he has already alienated the greater part of the strength through whose support he could alone have succeeded in polling a respectable vote, and has gained nothing at all to compensate for this loss; for the Democrats who are now praising him, commending his platform, and speculating upon the advisability of nominating him at Chicago, have no other purpose in their course except to keep up his determination, and, by encouraging him to run as a candidate, to withdraw as many votes as possible from Mr. Lincoln. They have no more purpose of nominating him at Chicago than they have of nominating Mr. Lincoln himself. The recent vote of the entire Democratic delegation in Congress against the Constitutional amendment abolishing slavery demonstrates very clearly that the party cannot support any candidates for President hostile to slavery, and Fremont, by all his acts and by the platform of the convention which nominated him, is still pledged to his warfare against slavery until it is utterly extinguished in the republic.

We regret that Fremont, and the real anti-slavery men who are associated with him in this movement, should have resorted to what, at this moment, can hardly be characterized as anything but a factious course. No party will be strengthened by or derive any comfort from it but the aristocratic pro-slavery party, which still assumes the name of Democracy. Mr. Lincoln may not be the best man for the succession, but the indications now are that he will be elected, or some pro-slavery sympathizer with the rebellion will succeed. Because we cannot have a whole loaf, shall we refuse to have any bread? If Fremont had been nominated at Baltimore, we should cheerfully have supported him; but he comes to us now in such doubtful guise, and accompanied and heralded by such queer and unaccustomed partizans, that we cannot receive him as the Fremont who was once the champion and leader of the anti-slavery party of the country.—*Green Mountain Freeman.*

THE CLEVELAND AND BALTIMORE PLATFORMS.

To the Editor of the New York Independent:

You refer to me in your notice, last week, of the Cleveland Convention, and seem to think I should wish, if fully informed, to withdraw from that movement. I believe I am fully informed in regard to it—at least, your article suggests nothing new to me—and I have no wish to withdraw from it. I infinitely prefer its platform to that adopted at Baltimore, and can hardly conceive of your preferring Baltimore asking half a loaf, to Cleveland asking a whole loaf. What is the precise value from your pen of the slurring epithet you bestow on Cleveland, "unrepresentative," I cannot tell. From others I understand it. But how long have *you* thought that legislatures, custom-houses, ward-rooms, and mess-tables so entirely monopolize the saints of the nation, that a *popular* convention is to be scorned in comparison? Better represent rebels. Allow me to remind you how largely the Baltimore Convention was a mob, coming nobody knew whence, responsible to none, and only pretending to represent rebels and States not now in existence; though even in that crowd of representatives without constituents, no place could be found for Robert Small and his fellow heroes of Carolina.

No wonder that such a body, *unlike Cleveland,* was unwilling to press the Confiscation Law on a President who once wished to veto it, and has never put it into efficient execution. No wonder, speculators and contractors, they were willing to leave to their friend Mr. Lincoln his usurped power of Reconstruction—the most difficult and most momentous question before us—which Cleveland so properly refuses to any but Congress and the people.

The Baltimore platform has but one article of any meaning or value, that relating to a constitutional amendment prohibiting slavery. That article would never, in my opinion, have been inserted but for the pressure of that movement which culminated in the Cleveland Convention. The plan of amending the Constitution was not suggested by the Administration, nor by Congress, nor by any prominent Republican Press. It was first urged, and has since been patiently pressed, on public attention by those who originated the Cleveland movement. From them Congress borrow the idea, and to their labor is due the success it has obtained. Further, with all the pressure I have alluded to, Baltimore has not dared to rise to the level of Cleveland, which not only demands such an Amendment, but a further one, "*to secure to all men absolute equality before the law.*" To me this is the chief gem of its crown. There can be no possible salvation for the Union, and no safety for the negro in his freedom, except on the basis of every man of every race equal in privilege, right, and franchise before the law. This idea, again, owes its birth to the Cleveland movement, and is, as yet, the high-water mark of American politics. Neither the Administration, nor Congress, nor any Republican Press or Platform has ventured to claim it. Repudiated even yet by all these and by many Abolitionists, the Cleveland men announce it, marking an epoch in our Nation's progress. I am glad and proud to be identified with such a movement, and History will ever guard the fact that the Cleveland Convention was the first political body of Americans to make that claim, and to plant itself fairly on the Declaration of Independence, in which they are, at once, consistent, statesmanlike, and just. The next generation will see and acknowledge that the men who demanded that step knew their times better and served them more efficiently than the author of the Emancipation Proclamation of January, 1863.

The next merit of Cleveland is its protest against the fast growing despotism of an Administration which never shows vigor except against single individuals and in the quiet streets of New York and Boston, but is imbecile and submissive in Tennessee and New Orleans. If, in the profound peace of New York and entirely without necessity, the President usurps all the power of Congress and the Judiciary—as in the Arguelles case—or wholly suppresses the Senate by sending his tool Frank P. Blair to command an army without the shadow of a commission, it is time to ask where we are. If these things are done in the green tree, what may we not expect in the dry? Ever since 1861 I have done what I could to point out the dangerous tendency of this use of despotic power. Its necessary use is alarming; the moment it outgoes the strict limits of that necessity, it should arouse the most vigilant attention and rebuke.

The only other article of the Baltimore Platform in which the influence of Cleveland can be traced is that meaningless and hypocritical one supposed to relate to a change in the Cabinet; an attempt, the first half of which was alone successful. The Baltimore men knew then and know now that Mr. Lincoln neither plans nor will consent to change his Cabinet, unless he is forced to it by a pressure outside his party, and so strong as to make it tremble.

Two or three clap-trap compliments, one-half of which, *you know well,* were neither deserved nor sincerely offered, one honorable protest against the Government's infamous injustice to its colored soldiers, and one brave demand (the Amendment) borrowed from its rival—this is the Baltimore Platform. Confiscation urged, the control of Reconstruction claimed for Congress and the people, needless despotism rebuked, and a Constitutional Amendment demanded to prohibit slavery and give to all men the vote—these are the merits of the Cleveland movement. Its success thus far has been unmixed, and most marked and beneficial.

You dread a union between Cleveland and the Democrats. I should welcome it. The only question is the terms of such union. I am not myself a voter, and could neither give nor take office under the present Constitution. But any Democrat who who will join me in securing a union without a slave,

and with every man, black or white, equal before the law, I shall be glad to work with. If Cleveland imitates the Republican party, and to win office deserts its principles, then I shall desert Cleveland. But as the party no win power has betrayed us, and left us only one chance in three of saving the Union, I am disposed to try any other which gives its adhesion to right principles.

In ordinary times, politics is of little interest to me. But to-day the nation hangs on the edge of Niagara. I have some hope, though but little expectation, that it will be saved under its present leaders. Duty bids me make every effort to insure its safety. Hence, I joined the Cleveland Convention, as a protest against the calamity of Mr. Lincoln's re-election. I still trust that it may be made effectual to prevent that disaster. I hope the sound portion of the Democratic party—lovers of their country—will accept an anti-slavery basis of action, and join us. To achieve such a union is my present effort. I gave the Republican Administration generous confidence for three years. Compromising, purposeless, halting, cowardly, they have disgusted their own supporters and well-nigh wrecked the nation. That way ruin lies. I am anxious, at least, to try another. Watchful in the past against deceit, I shall watch as vigilantly in the future, and when the Cleveland movement commits folly, I shall rebuke and desert it. At present, its existence is almost my only hope of anything good being bullied out of this Administration.

All government in this country is an average made up between the purpose of the majority and that of the minority, whose strength the majority fears. Even if unsuccessful at the ballot-box, Cleveland may still display such strength as will encourage or subdue this Administration into loyal efficiency, as it has already lifted the Baltimore Platform into decency.

It is too early to form any opinion of the result of the coming canvass. Grant carries the decision of it on the point of his sword. If we of Cleveland fail, I shall not be surprised. Perfectly well aware that compromise is the essence of politics and indispensably necessary to success at the ballot-box, I should be more surprised to succeed. Indeed, the hour of such success would be the one when I should most anxiously re-examine my own position. Let me commend to you the same caution.

Unless, however, some union takes place among the opponents of the Administration, I have little expectation that the North will finally succeed, except on a basis worse than defeat. If the North does triumph, I shall always look back to the Cleveland Convention as one of the most efficient contributions to that success.

Last, as to the nominees of the Cleveland Convention: I have confidence in the Anti-Slavery purpose of John C. Fremont; and I wait to see the policy which he and his political friends will adopt for the accomplishment of that purpose. As events unfold, I shall find my guidance in them, and shall take fit opportunity to express my opinion. I know the nature of politicians, how little to be trusted. Whether we shall be able to trust the Democratic party, in this crisis, is yet uncertain; that we cannot trust the voluntary action of the Republican party is proved.

My motto is "the Country," and I welcome any man's aid to save it. If Chicago comes to Cleveland, I shall welcome its aid. If any of us quit Cleveland and go to Chicago, I shall not follow.

Yours, respectfully,

June, 1864. WENDELL PHILLIPS.

[*Remarks of the Editor of the Independent.*]

In appending to the letter of Mr. Phillips the criticisms which a sense of duty compels us to make, we desire to say, in advance, that no man in the land is entitled to a more respectful hearing for whatever he utters than himself; for no man has more purely, more heroically, more eloquently served the noblest cause known to American history. His knowledge of public measures is uncommon, his judgment is not lightly to be esteemed, his integrity is never to be questioned. But we think he is wrong in his present position, and respectfully call his attention to the following points:

1. Mr. Phillips objects to our styling the Cleveland Convention "unrepresentative." We repeat the word. The delegates—all of whom were without credentials and all without constituencies—numbered only 156: not half filling the hall: a handful of rabbits in a barn. One of the best known delegates said to a friend, "that it was the smallest and meanest political convention he had ever known." We are far from despising a small band of good men; but, to our personal knowledge, several of the better-minded managers of the movement have become surprised at, deceived by, and disgusted with the designs of the remainder. The Baltimore Convention was not composed according to our liking—for, as we have repeatedly said, we would be glad of a rule excluding office-holders (such as are appointed, not elected) from seats in a presidential convention, on the ground that the office-holders under any administration have too great a temptation to re-seat the same administration in power. Mr. Phillips was not present at the Baltimore Convention, and we were, and we take pleasure in assuring him that the Convention was not a mob—if, being an abolitionist, we know a mob when we see one!

II. "No place," he says, "could be found at Baltimore for Robert Small." Well, Robert Small was not there—he was in Carolina. But, had he presented himself as a delegate, he would have been rightfully rejected; not because of his black skin, but because the only part of South Carolina now under the flag is a slender string of beads called the Sea Islands—not an inch of the mainland, but only a few crumbs broken off the cake—no more representing South Carolina than Coney Island and Sandy Hook represent New York and New Jersey.

III. We grant the indirectness of the Baltimore resolution concerning the cabinet: we grant, if necessary, its unmanliness: we believe in calling a spade a spade, and a Blair a Blair. But, with all its well-aimed aimlessness, it morally binds the President to make changes in his cabinet. That resolution was fired at two targets, Mr. Blair and Mr. Seward—those two St. Sebastians, pierced of many arrows, and slowly dying of their wounds. A member of the committee on resolutions told us that, though euphemisms were put before the public, there was no sparing of plain talk in the committee-room—that mince-meat was made of those two cabinet officers—as the song says, a pretty dish to set before the President. Another member of that committee said, "I hope for the removal of Mr. Blair immediately, the sooner the better for the canvass." We believe that nine-tenths of the party whose votes are to be cast for Abraham Lincoln would swing their hats and give three cheers if these changes could be announced in to-morrow's paper. We simply state facts.

IV. Our friend condemns Baltimore for its omission to press Confiscation, and praises Cleveland because it declared for Confiscation. But has he forgotten that Mr. Fremont, in his letter of acceptance, expressly repudiated this very Confiscation resolution? "I don't think it," says Mr. Fremont, "a measure of sound policy." We therefore call upon Mr. Phillips to visit upon Mr. Fremont as much indignation for this delinquency as he has visited upon Mr. Lincoln. This would be what the platform calls Confiscation, "a measure of justice"!

V. The Cleveland managers, he claims, made the first suggestion of a constitutional amendment. This is not true. We give a counter-statement. At the decade meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in Philadelphia, in December of last year, a resolution, drawn by a United States Senator, was unanimously passed, demanding the amendment—six months before the Cleveland Convention! On the 8th of April, this year, by an overwhelming vote of 38 to 6, the U. S. Senate passed a bill for the amendment—nearly two months before! It is therefore a great unfairness in Mr. Phillips to say of the Cleveland Convention that "from them Congress borrowed the idea"! He is equally wrong in saying that no "prominent" Republican press advocated the idea till after the Cleveland managers had loaned it to them. "*The Evening Post*," as its editor says, in a note to us, "urged a constitutional amendment to abolish slavery so long ago as in February last"—four months before! The same may be said of a dozen other Republican journals. We will not include *The Independent*, lest we should not be deemed "prominent."

VI. Mr. Phillips points a spear at arbitrary arrests. But, until this letter, we never before heard him refer to arbitrary arrests without vindicating them—never once! Calling them dangerous, he has also called them necessary. In our own hearing, he has repeatedly gone beyond our own assent on this subject. In May, the Cleveland Convention flames forth with indignation against arbitrary arrests, but in the very same month Mr. Phillips spoke in Dr. Cheever's church as follows:

"Well did Seward say to Lord Lyons, 'I but ring a bell on this side, and, unchallenged, I put in prison a New Englander; I ring another one on that, and, equally irresponsible, consign a citizen of Ohio to a dungeon.' No such despotism this side the wall of China. NECESSARY—INEVITABLE—NOT TO BE FOUND FAULT WITH, in the death-grapple with rebellion."

Thus approving the most arbitrary of the arrests—for nothing has been so denounced as Mr. Seward's bell—Mr. Phillips's printed speech had hardly time to get to Cleveland before the Cleveland Convention issued a war-cry against these arrests, and Mr. Phillips strangely adds his own voice to the chorus! A man who yesterday said that a thing was "necessary—inevitable—not to be found fault with," and to-day finds fault, is a man easily answered, because he answers himself.

VII. Baltimore, he argues, admitted doubtful States to its floor. True, and we regret their admission. We agreed with Thaddeus Stevens, who protested on the spot. But had the Cleveland Convention no delegates from doubtful States? Did it shut its doors upon any one of those States? If the delegation admitted to Baltimore from Tennessee had knocked instead at Cleveland, does Mr. Phillips think they would have been rejected? No; he knows that the Cleveland managers would have paid the travelling expenses of that delegation all the way from the Cumberland Mountains to Lake Erie, and home again, and a gratuity besides—simply to have had them for five minutes on the floor! Has Mr. Phillips received new light concerning the questionable States? Certainly, we never have understood him as being a stickler for holding them as territories or provinces. "If you want to make the Proclamation effective," said he, last month, "you must find some means of *making States*." And what does he now mean by "Mr. Lincoln's *usurped power of reconstruction*"? It was only in May that he said, "*I accept with gratitude* the first step that the *Administration* made in December towards *reconstruction*"! Does Mr. Phillips approve the capriciousness of mind that accepts in May with gratitude what it denounces in June with indignation? Mr. Phillips's speeches have of late quarrelled with each other almost as if the elegant swords in Tiffany's window should spring up to hack each other to pieces!

VIII. We charged the Cleveland Platform with falsely asserting that "Slavery is virtually destroyed." To this charge Mr. Phillips makes *no reply*. But is he willing to commit himself to this false assertion? Did he not say in May, "To my own mind the slave's fate is yet an uncertainty"? Did he not say that "so long as slavery was tolerated, or the Government refused to repeal the Fugitive Slave Law, the covenant with death had not been annulled"? But when the Cleveland Convention met, the Fugitive Slave Law had not been repealed; the House had refused to join the Senate for a prohibitory amendment; the President's Proclamation was then (as it still is, in Mr. Phillips's view,) a piece of waste paper, if the Supreme Court so please; the Federal Government was then (as it still is, in Mr. Phillips's view) the legal holder of a million slaves; and yet the Convention, in face of these hideous facts, shuts its eyes, and, like a company of blind men, agreed to say that slavery was dead! Mr. Parker Pillsbury, a delegate, has published a protest against this monstrous fraud, saying, with a sagacity which does credit to his judgment, "To me, it is not a truth that slavery is destroyed." Since last week we have learned that Mr. Stephen S. Foster, a delegate, combated this heresy on the floor of the house, but in vain. Mr. William Goodell, a delegate, publishes in this week's *Principia* an article scouting the idea that slavery is dead. Thus the truest-hearted men present at the Convention are one by one trying to shield themselves from the folly of having attended it. Will Mr. Phillips any longer allow his own great name to be used by others as a pillar to prop up a statement which we know that he himself will not uphold?

IX. We charged that Cleveland was a mere caucus to Chicago—that its managers are now going in secret to lay their hands, by designed accident, into the palms of Copperheads for a league of fellowship against the great party of the Union. This charge Mr. Phillips partially meets, but partially avoids. He has come to a sudden good opinion of the Democratic party! How long will he hold it? Will he who criticises the little virtue of Republicans find greater in Democrats? "I know the nature of politicians," says he, "how little to be trusted." But he does not know the nature of Democratic politicians, if he thinks he can trust into their hands the cause of the slave! As George Canning said in Parliament of the proposal to put the new legislation for freedom into the hands of the old supporters of slavery, "While human nature remains the same, they can never be trusted with it!" If Mr. Phillips seeks any political alliance, his proper place is with the party which for eight years has stood for freedom, and not with its enemy that stood then and stands yet for slavery!

To our remark of last week, that he knew only half the intent of the Cleveland movement, and that if he knew the other half, he would withdraw his support, he replies that we told him nothing new. One of his best friends in this city—a noble and unspotted lawyer—addressed to us a few days ago these words: "The Fremont meetings in my district are held in the same grog-shop out of which, last summer, issued the rioters who set fire to my house; the audiences are the same persons; and the speakers are well-known Copperheads!" Is Mr. Phillips willing to stay joined to this gang? At the great Fremont ratification meeting at Cooper Institute, on Monday night, where Mr. Phillips was advertised to speak, (and where, consequently, we were present to hear,) the chief demonstrations were boisterous cheers for McClellan! Would Mr. Phillips, had he been present, been pleased with the sound? Dr. Brownson, one of the speakers, said that for President he would prefer Vallandigham, Horatio Seymour, or Fernando Wood to Mr. Lincoln! Will Mr. Phillips say amen? Mr. Claiborne, of Missouri, another speaker—one of the delegates to Chicago!—said, "Give us a man who is not obnoxious to the South, so that we can form a bridge on which they can come back!" Will Mr. Phillips walk that road to a compromise? John Cochrane, candidate for the Vice-Presidency, speaking at the same meeting, alluded with pleasure to the equal cheers for Fremont and McClellan, and said that these men were "twin cherries on one stalk." Is Mr. Phillips content to hang in their company as a third on the same stem? In the outside meeting, Mr. Bryce, a speaker, said, "I take occasion to pay a deserved tribute to George B. McClellan. [Cheers.] I like to hear you cheer for him. If Fremont is elected, he will do McClellan justice. I know Fremont from boyhood. Cheer for McClellan; it is your privilege: cheer for any man except the imbecile who now fills the Presidential chair." [Tremendous groans for Lincoln.] Mr. Phillips has promised that, if the Cleveland movement "committed folly, he would rebuke and desert it." Was not Monday night folly enough?

We were told, at the meeting, by a sagacious man who knew its secrets, that the Democratic leaders were using the Cleveland movement simply as a sharp-edged tool to wound the Union party. We were told the same thing the next day by a Copperhead journalist. As for ourselves, we knew this before we were told. But Mr. Phillips refuses to know it after being told.

X. Mr. Phillips leans on a broken reed—the high anti-slavery purpose of the Cleveland movement. "The chief gem of its crown," says he, "is absolute equality before the law." But what is absolute equality before the law so long as slavery exists? It is an equality for freemen, not for slaves—the old limited equality which before existed, nothing more. Look at it! A million slaves are still legally held in bonds: the Cleveland platform cloaks this fact with a pretence that slavery is dead, and then asks for equality before the law: that is to say, *taking bare to omit from its view the very persons for whom Mr. Phillips demands equality, it bravely asks for an equality which heretofore has existed!* Now, we would be glad if a great political party could go before the country on the high issue of giving every black man a vote; but the country is not ready for such an issue. On the 4th of July, 1861, at Framingham, Mass., Mr. Phillips, in speaking of the clamors which the Government then began to hear concerning a policy of Emancipation, said: "IT WERE UTTER RUIN TO ANNOUNCE IT NOW." So, too, if the next election were to turn upon the question of giving every black man a vote, the Copperheads would achieve the next administration. If the country were for such an issue, the Baltimore Convention would have made it.

Cleveland Convention has not made it, and its managers will not make it. Any man who knows the meaning of the Cleveland movement laughs at the idea that Fremont and Cochrane are fighting a battle for the sake of the negro's right to vote. Neither of these men, in their letters of acceptance, said a word about the rights of the negro—not even a word of sympathy for the slave.

At the Monday ratification meeting, not a word was said in the resolutions concerning the rights of the negro. The only man who made any approach to an anti-slavery utterance was Dr. Brownson—the man of whom, Mr. Phillips, a few weeks before, standing on the same spot of ragged red-carpet, said, "Mr. Brownson does me the honor to say that I am MAD upon the rights of the negro!" Mr. Claiborne said, "There was something in the platform harder for him to swallow than a sherry-cobbler." Can Mr. Phillips guess what that was? It was the "chief gem of the crown." Nine-tenths of that double multitude, both inside and outside the house, would have bartered away the whole Cleveland platform for a sherry-cobbler each. John Cochrane, who did not once so far forget himself as to name the negro, was complimented at the close of his speech by Mr. Phillip's old friend, Capt Isaiah Rynders, of the Empire Club! If Mr. Phillips had been present, as announced, and had held up "the chief gem of the crown" to glitter in the gas lights, there were men on both sides the wall who, for the insult of ranking the negro up to the same equality with themselves, would have burned in their bosoms to tear off the flesh from his bones. "I can hardly conceive," writes Mr. Phillips, "of your preferring Baltimore, asking half a loaf, to Cleveland, asking a whole loaf." We prefer the half-loaf of Baltimore, because it is bread: we reject the whole loaf of Cleveland, because it is a stone.

XI. We know the key-note of Mr. Phillips's complainings. It is a dissatisfaction with the Administration. In this feeling he does not stand alone. The Baltimore resolution, painting and gilding the Administration, was unmerited. But we shall not join the Copperheads in a coalition to make bad worse. If a Republican Administration has proved unworthy, a Democratic will prove more unworthy; and we fear the exchange. If the great Union party represented at Baltimore had chosen some other candidate, we would have no regrets. If, before November, some strange change in events should put another name at the head of this great party, we would cheerfully acquiesce. But so long as the case stands as it now stands—the field occupied by one great party whose aim is Liberty and Union, and whose enemies are a motley multitude of every name and opinion, gathered from grog-shops and stained with riots, banding themselves anew to wrong their country, whose ranks are unduly dignified and honored by the presence of a few pure and noble men of whom the rest are unworthy—we shall make straight paths for our feet, and follow with heart and soul after the banner of Abraham Lincoln! We think it Mr. Phillip's duty to do the same. Are we not right?

In concluding these criticisms, let us add that we have written them with an unwilling hand. A controversy with a friend is the water of Marah to one's own lips. But as no man more freely gives criticism than Mr. Phillips, so we believe no man more kindly accepts it. If any word of ours has wrongly stated his position, he knows that no pen is more welcome in these columns than his own.

The Liberator

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 8, 1864.

REPLY TO PROFESSOR NEWMAN. The letter addressed to us by Professor NEWMAN, of the London University, published in our last number, is deserving of a fuller reply than the one we gave to it; but we have been too greatly debilitated by the hot weather, during the past week, to put forth any mental effort, and are therefore obliged to postpone our response to a future number. It is to be regretted that so true a friend to our country, and to the cause of the oppressed on our soil, should be led, at this advanced stage, to take so sombre a view of the situation of affairs, especially with reference to President Lincoln and his Administration. What has been done by them and under them, towards hastening onward the day of jubilee, may be seen succinctly stated in the letter of Henry C. Wright in another column.

THE SUBLIME OF REBEL MENDACITY. Turn to the Peace (!) Memorial of the Confederate Congress, in another column, and see with what bold impiety and matchless effrontery the appeal is made to heaven and earth—and in the name and according to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, too!—for the rectitude of their course! They have done no wrong, been guilty of no perfidy, desired no quarrel with the American Government, only wishing to be allowed to pursue the even tenor of their way, and to manage their own affairs according to their own ideas of the fitness of things! Innocent lambs whose fold has been ravenously invaded by troops of Northern wolves! An oppressed people, who have risen in self-defence to vindicate their "inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and who have "ever deeply deplored the necessity which constrained them to take up arms in defence of their rights, and of the free institutions (!) of their fathers"! A magnanimous though suffering band of patriots, who—notwithstanding their wonderful martial successes against the hordes of Northern Goths and Vandals—are ready to stipulate for peace, provided they can have their own way, and be acknowledged an independent confederacy! Nay, but they are traitors and rebels of the deepest dye, banded together for an infernal purpose, and utterly untrustworthy in all their promises and agreements. Their doom is sure.

FIFTY-FIFTH MASSACHUSETTS. This regiment, in all probability, will see no more active service for the remainder of the season, stationed, as it is, in its old position on Folly Island. The want of reading matter is already sensibly felt, and those who have any to spare would be conferring a philanthropic favor by directing it to this quarter. All school-books will be in order, and, not less, magazines, periodicals of various sorts, and a wide range of literature in general. There are many minds to be fed, and the more diverse the contributions, the greater the likelihood of their giving universal satisfaction. These may be sent to the address of R. P. HALLOWELL, at 98 Federal street, Boston; 35 Broadway, New York; or 912 Walnut street, Philadelphia.

THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER, for July, presents the following table of contents:—I. Character and Historical Position of Theodore Parker. II. The New King of Greece. III. Robert Browning. IV. Marsh's "Man and Nature." V. Robert Lowell. VI. Renan's Critical Essays. VII. Edward Livingston. VIII. A Word on the War. IX. Review of Current Literature. Walker, Wise & Co., 245 Washington Street, Boston.

☞ The funeral of Hon. JOSIAH QUINCY, Senior, on Wednesday last, was conducted by Rev. Dr. Gannet, at his church in Arlington street, and attended by a large number of people, anxious to show their respect for one who has so long stood in the front rank of the truly great men of Boston. The officiating clergyman took the usual privilege of his class by rehearsing at length, in the course of his prayer, those excellencies of character in the deceased which he thought specially honorable and memorable. But, as was natural for the man who said, many years ago—"The mission of Unitarianism to slavery is silence"—and who has ever since conducted his ministry in accordance with that sentiment—he made no reference to one of the most admirable features of Mr. Quincy's life, namely, the fact that he made vigorous and persistent efforts to lead the political party with which he was connected to an anti-slavery position; that he made large use of his pen, and of his personal influence, to induce the Whigs to unite in opposition to the aggressions of the Slave Power; and that, when that party deservedly perished through the natural influence of its cowardice and hunkerism, he plainly set forth its demerits, and showed the connection between its crime and its punishment, by way of warning to the men and the parties which should follow. —C. K. W.

THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE NEW ENGLAND A. S. CONVENTION.

To the Editor of the Liberator:

I very much regret that, of the resolutions adopted by the late New England Anti-Slavery Convention, a series, offered by Parker Pillsbury, should have failed to appear in the report.

As one of the Secretaries, all the resolutions before the Convention were in my charge. At the close of the last session, I made up a parcel of the manuscript in my possession, and gave it to Mr. J. M. W. Yerrinton, of the *Liberator*, for publication. I supposed the resolutions offered by Mr. Pillsbury to have been included (as I fully intended they should be) in this parcel of manuscript. Afterward, on arranging the report for publication, they could not be found. Nor have they yet been recovered. Whether, in the hurried period at the adjournment of the Convention, near midnight, I dropped them from my table, and thus lost them, or they were accidentally mislaid by Mr. Yerrinton, it is impossible for me now to affirm. Very certain I am that, in either case, their loss was purely accidental.

Mr. C. K. Whipple, who was also one of the Secretaries, did not at any time have charge of the resolutions in question, and is in nowise responsible for their non-appearance.

Fearing it might prove impossible to recover the original manuscript, I applied to Mr. Pillsbury for a duplicate of the resolutions for subsequent publication. This he was unable to furnish.

Sincerely regretting the omission,

I am, very truly, yours,

AARON M. POWELL.

REMARKS. The disappearance of Mr. Pillsbury's resolutions was equally annoying and inexplicable, though unquestionably purely accidental. As they came not into our possession, it was, of course, impracticable for us to print them with the proceedings; but we did not doubt that, on ascertaining their loss, our friend P. would be able to rewrite them. This, it seems, he is unable to do—at least, with the verbal accuracy which is to be desired in a case of so much interest. This we regret.

We are greatly surprised to find in the *Anti-Slavery Standard* of last week, a letter from our esteemed friend, Dr. A. Brooke, of Marlboro, Ohio, in which occurs the following invidious reference:—

"The New England Anti-Slavery Convention, to which the eyes of Abolitionists everywhere have instinctively turned for light, convened in Boston, May 26th. Though it may readily have proved impossible to exclude the entrance and expression of partisan feelings during its discussions, the whole expression of sentiment of the Convention certainly might and ought to have been put upon record. It will be seen, in its published proceedings, that Mr. Pillsbury offered certain resolutions, which, though unacceptable to a portion of the Convention, were eventually passed, after the endeavor to procure a different result by the substitution of others in their place. The published record failed, by accident it would appear, to contain them; but is it possible to believe that, in the better days of our movement, such an accident would not have been remedied, and historical truth vindicated by their after publication? Yet to-day, though earnest to know their import, and what were the sentiments, important or otherwise, which the Convention adopted, I am utterly ignorant thereof, and with me are all those Abolitionists at a distance who have to rely for their knowledge upon the published transactions of the Society! What *was* published fairly conveys the impression that these have been suppressed for partisan purposes."

This is a stab in the dark at somebody, but for whom it is intended does not appear. It is equally uncalled for and cruel. To the inquiry of Dr. Brooke—"Is it possible to believe that, in *the better days of our movement*, such an accident would not have been remedied, and historical truth vindicated by their after publication?"—we reply—1. Our movement has never seen better days than now—nor any half so auspicious and glorious. 2. At any time, such an accident would have been just as impossible to remedy. 3. When resolutions are lost, and their author is unable to prepare another copy, through what legerdemain would Dr. Brooke expect they could be made to appear? Well does the editor of the *Anti-Slavery Standard* remark—

"We shall not attempt to characterize Dr. Brooke's avowal of his suspicion that Mr. Pillsbury's resolutions "have been suppressed for partisan purposes" further than to say that it indicates a state of mind far worse than ordinary "partisanship," and illustrates that spirit of jealousy and crimination which, unfortunately, has found a lodgment in the breasts of a few (we hope but a few) persons connected with the anti-slavery movement. As to the cause of the non-appearance of the resolutions, our only knowledge is derived from the following note in the published proceedings of the Convention:

"By some mistake of the Secretaries, the resolutions of Mr. Pillsbury have not been handed to us, and, therefore, we are unable to print them in this connection."

The Secretaries of the Convention were Charles K. Whipple and Aaron M. Powell, both of whom are understood to have voted for the resolutions which Dr. Brooke suspects they "suppressed for partisan purposes." We presume, though we do not know, that in the hurry attending the close of that excited meeting, near midnight, the Secretaries dropped or mislaid the resolutions, and that they have not been recovered. The suspicion that they were "suppressed" by anybody is unworthy of any anti-slavery heart."

DEATH OF A CHRISTIAN PATRIOT.

SPRINGFIELD, (Vt.) July 4, 1864.

MR. GARRISON:

DEAR SIR:—It is with a sad heart that I now sit down to write these few lines. Another veteran in the anti-slavery work has fallen. Another friend of freedom, a true man, a Christian patriot has departed, exchanging the warfare of life for the glories of heaven.

Mr. JESSE STEDMAN departed this afternoon; and I am just returned from the house of mourning, where I have been to assist, in conveying his lifeless remains.

The citizens of Springfield and vicinity held a picnic to-day, in a beautiful grove a short distance from the village, for the benefit of the Sanitary Commission. Several gentlemen delivered addresses, after which the dinner was discussed. After dinner the audience was called to order, and some excellent and appropriate sentiments were read by Mr. Stedman, eliciting frequent applause from a large and attentive audience. He finished, and sat down amid the cheers of the crowd. Another gentleman had just commenced speaking, when our venerable friend was seen to sink back upon his seat. He gasped but once; and, although able physicians were attending upon him, almost instantly the vital spark had fled. His spirit had taken its flight to its dwelling in the city celestial whose builder and maker is God.

A bier was immediately procured, and, covered with the flag he loved so well, he was borne to his house in the village—the whole audience of several hundred persons accompanying the body.

A great respect is felt for his memory; and the general feeling is, that the community has suffered a great loss. The deceased was aged 83 years.

Truly yours, W.

☞ The death of this venerable and worthy man, in such circumstances, at a meeting convened for such an object, and on such an occasion—*the Fourth of July*—is to be envied rather than deplored. It fitly closed, without pain or decay, a long life of usefulness to society and benefit to the country. Few have ever attained such an age with their faculties so unimpaired, or their spirit so fresh and active. For the past two or three years, Mr. Stedman has been a frequent contributor to the columns of the *Liberator*; and his communications were always characterized by the highest-toned patriotism, the broadest philanthropy, and an uncompromising devotion to principle against worldly expediency. He was as true to those in bondage as though they were of his own household, and he pleaded their cause with becoming earnestness; strongly rebuking the spirit that would keep them in their chains, or withhold from them any of their God given rights. Truly, a good and brave man has been gathered to his fathers; and his memory shall be blessed.—[*Ed. Lib.*

LETTERS FROM NEW YORK. No. XI.

NEW YORK, June 30, 1864.

To the Editor of the Liberator:

A very instructive map is that which depicts, by means of shaded lines, the territorial extent of the Confederacy at its inception, in broad contrast with its present shrunken proportions. The survey of what the Union has recovered and the rebellion lost has its especial comfort in the fact that we have so much and so justly in times past found fault with the conduct of the war—whether because of the appointment of unworthy leaders, the lack of a united plan of action, or the failure to aim promptly and heartily at the sole breeder of this revolt. Despite these drawbacks, now behold our enemy reduced to the slender riband of the seaboard Slave States, drawing his sustaining vitality almost wholly through such pores as our blockading fleet cannot seal; and the sight is full of strength and encouragement. We battle now with strong knees, unwearied arms, heart that cannot be shaken by disaster, head that cannot mistake the foe. Yet we have always perceived that the Confederacy was wider than the soil overrun and controlled by its military forces, lapping everywhere upon the confines of the free North. No slave-ridden district, though carpeted with the national banner, could be counted out of the domain of treason; and hence, a surer indication of the triumph of our cause than the map to which I have alluded was to be had in the colored chart of the Free and Slave States, and its altered tints in six-and-thirty months. Certainly no slave county south of the border retains its former ratio of inhabitants, bond and free.

Some few localities in the still rebellious States may deserve a darker hue than the last census allots them, by reason of the compression put upon the slave system by our advancing armies; but, looking over the whole field, the gain in light has been infinite. In theory now, in perfect practice by-and-by, Louisiana—once black as Erebus—Arkansas and Tennessee are robed in the shining white of freedom; Missouri is like a sulky child reluctant to be dressed, yet already more than half-clad, and conscious that resistance is in vain. Above them all sits Maryland, at last in her true place among her sisters, proud of the badge of free labor, and meaning in the future to eat of honest bread. To the thoughtful leaders of the rebellion there has been no defeat so ominous as the action of the Convention at Annapolis on Friday last. This revolution of society—wilfully opposed three years ago by the vast majority of the people of the State, and yet fundamental, complete, for all time, now that it is made—is a consummation which has been brought about under the protection of bayonets, but which is no longer dependent upon them. It is a revolution which can never go backward. We may conceive of the war ending as parties stand at this moment, or even with the surrender of all the country which has been wrested from the occupation of the Confederacy, and still all would not have been lost. Into the putrid sea of human bondage would project a sunlit promontory won from its fatal embrace, at fearful cost of blood and means, if you please, but none the less redeemed for the ploughshare and seed of liberty. The North would yet be stronger than the South, in States and in Territories, and the battle, if renewed again upon the morrow, would preponderate in our favor. The country has not paid too dear for Maryland, nor Maryland for its own enfranchisement.

The issue of the Presidential campaign next autumn, to which I alluded in my last, is rapidly developing itself into tangible shape. There will be but two parties—the progressives and the reactionists—the loyal and the treasonable. There will be but one question—Shall slavery die? Mr. Lincoln and the party which sustains him say clearly, Yes! Vallandigham, McClellan, Fremont and *their* party as clearly answer, No! Upon this line we are to fight, God knows, not only all summer but in all seasons and in all time, until the question shall cease to be asked because slavery is no more. Defeat at the polls in November is an ugly contingency, but it need not shake our faith in the ultimate success of justice, nor can it do aught but temporarily impede her car. We do not mean, however, to entertain the idea of a reverse, or to believe that Jefferson Davis will be voted President of *all* the United States. Mingling prudence with confidence, the loyal majority in Congress are laboring diligently to secure advantages which can never be taken away. Almost contemporaneously with the abolition of slavery in Maryland, and its practical disruption in Kentucky by our recruiting sergeants, comes the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Laws—re-enact them who dare! And here let me say one word concerning criticism of the President. Men of noble principles but of strained judgment too often review Mr. Lincoln's record, and hurl at him acts which he has long since outgrown and repudiated. One great fact remains to his credit: when Congress asks his signature, it gets it. Time was when, for a procedure which has a double interpretation, Mr. Lincoln was stigmatized as the "slave-hound of Illinois." This was in the matter of the District of Columbia. Since then, he has given freedom to that territory, and to-day he wipes out slave-catching forever. Shall our epithets remain unchanged? The Senate and House have rejected the Colonization appropriation, and Mr. Lincoln will not object. Shall we only remember the tragedy of Avache? Senate and House admit colored witnesses to the United States Courts. The President will not exclude them. Shall we forget this in complaining of Louisiana? Mr. Sumner prevails upon the Senate to agree with him in prohibiting the inter-State slave trade; if the House coincide, the President will not be backward. Must we continue to remind him that he was born in Kentucky? Senate and House unite in denying Arkansas a place in the national council, in face of the design of the President's Amnesty and reconstruction policy. I do not believe he is concerned for this, nor that he will be an obstacle hereafter to the settlement by Congress of a grave question which is properly its own. His acceptance of the Baltimore nomination leaves nothing to be desired, and all signs point to effective concert between the Government and the people in the approaching canvass and election.

I just now ranked Fremont with McClellan and Vallandigham. No, it was not I, but his own party, meeting at Cooper Institute on Monday evening. A noisy, disloyal, Copperhead gathering, destitute, of course, of the dignity of a principle, much more of the dignity of any constituency save peace Democrats and traitors generally. Not a sentence was uttered on that occasion which did not lend aid and comfort to the enemy, though it will be a happy result of this exhibition that the loan will have more value for Southern feelings than for the Southern cause. We cannot be too grateful to the Radical Democracy for removing their mask without regard to shame. Fremont gulls nobody; nobody thinks that the Cleveland plank which treats of equal rights for all is a guaranty of those rights provided the party mounts into power. The phrase is as empty as the Declaration of Independence, which satanic Democracy will repeat or demand without choking, and violate even as it speaks. But suppose you allow pure motives to Radical Democrats; they have no prospect of success on their own resources. They perish unless they concoct a coalition. *Quo vertant?*—which way shall they turn? They have neither the ability nor the desire to reach the Baltimore level, and work in a loyal spirit. There is no resource but to sink to the party whose title they appropriated as if to make the transition easy. Alas for great names which are entangled in this disgraceful business—some from actual giving way of their integrity and sudden inspiration with ambitious hopes of place and power, others from a strange blindness when never was there a clearer atmosphere, nor less concealment of political management! Heaven save us all from the plotting of sharpers and villains, but keep, especially, unspotted and historically immortal characters from the smut of fellowship with them!

M. DU PAYS.

☞ The gross receipts of the Philadelphia Sanitary Fair will amount to about one million dollars.

THE MOTHER OF RADICAL DEMOCRACY.

FLORENCE, (Mass.) June 29, 1864.

DEAR GARRISON—Speaking of the "Radical Democracy," its organ, the *New Nation*, says—"*Its birth is due to its hatred to Lincoln and the present Administration.*" This, then, is the mother of that party which was born at Cleveland, and christened the *Radical Democracy*—not hatred to slavery, but "hatred to Lincoln." "Down with Lincoln!" (not down with slavery,) is "the battle-cry of the party," as raised by its organ. Undying, malignant "hatred of Lincoln and the present Administration" is not only the mother, but the animating spirit of the party. At the great Fremont ratification meeting in the Cooper Institute, New York, Monday evening, June 27, the leading speaker—O. A. Brownson, said—"He was ready to vote for Seymour, Wood, Fremont, Vallandigham, or any man or party that would defeat the reelection of Lincoln." Another speaker at that meeting—Claiborne of Missouri, said that—"If to insure the defeat of Lincoln, it was necessary to have the vote of the Democracy, they would follow in the wake of Fremont and Cochrane with flying colors." The third speaker—JOHN COCHRANE—denounced the fifth of the resolutions which make the Baltimore platform, which fifth resolution endorses the "practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism, the unswerving fidelity to the Constitution," evinced by Lincoln, and says—"We approve and endorse the means and acts which he has adopted to defend the nation against its open and secret foes; but we approve, especially, the Proclamation of Emancipation, and the employment as Union soldiers of men heretofore held in slavery." A resolution was adopted by the Fremont ratification meeting, denouncing this fifth resolution of the Union party as a "violation of the Constitution, ruinous to civil rights, and destructive of the entire body of American liberty"—as an "invasion of constitutional liberty," and as "armed with the red hand against popular rights."

This, then, is the Radical Democracy, whose "*high regard for justice*," whose "elevated morality," leads them to denounce the Emancipation Proclamation, and the employment of men, once held in slavery, as soldiers to fight for freedom, as "ruinous to all civil rights, and destructive of the body of American liberty"! This is the "high-toned morality," "the immaculate sense of justice," the "sacred reverence for human rights," evinced by the Radical Democracy, as made manifest in its ratification meeting at the Cooper Institute!

Fremont, in his letter of acceptance, gives the key-note of the party in these words: "If Mr. Lincoln should be renominated, there will be no alternative but to organize against him every element of conscientious opposition, with the view to prevent the misfortune of his reelection." Truly is hatred to Lincoln, not to *slavery*, the mother of the Radical Democracy!

Another significant watchword of the party, as raised by its organ—the *New Nation*—is this: "THE NEW PARTY ESPOUSES THE GRIEVANCES OF THE WEST AGAINST THE EAST." The last hope of the rebels is—"A NORTH-WESTERN CONFEDERACY." I know this is and has been, for some years, a secret, but determined purpose of the advocates of slavery and rebellion, headed by Vallandigham and Co. in Fremont to lend himself to head such a movement! Is the Pathfinder ambitious to found a North-Western Confederacy, and become a second BURR! Why do his organ and his adherents put forth this *feeler*?

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

NATIONAL PROGRESS AGAINST SLAVERY AND FOR FREEDOM SINCE MARCH 4, '61.

TROY, June 29, 1864.

DEAR GARRISON—Since the inauguration of Lincoln to the office of President of the United States, March 4, 1861, the following events have occurred touching the abolition of slavery. The following *facts* will be found to be substantially true. I do not give them in the order, as to time, of their occurrence. I have a record of them as they have taken place. Let abolitionists who labor for the abolition of slavery, and for justice to the negro, read them, and take courage—trusting that Human Nature will be true to itself, and vindicate itself as embodied in the enslaved negro:—

1. Emancipation in Western Virginia.
2. Emancipation in Missouri.
3. Emancipation in the District of Columbia.
4. Emancipation in Maryland.
5. Slavery abolished and forever prohibited in all the Territories.
6. Kansas admitted as a free State.
7. Provisions made to admit Colorado, Nebraska and Nevada as free States.
8. Organization of Idaho, Montana, Decotah and

"TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW."

A PRACTICAL SERMON FOR THE TIMES,

BY

JOHN T. SARGENT,

JUNE 3, 1864.

Expectant, as we now are, that, within a few hours, the 4th of July will reopen its jubilant manifestations, I have thought that the tenor of our reflections might as well be somewhat as to the present and future of our country whose interests are so anxiously treasured in our hearts. So I take for my text only two words from Exodus xix. 10:

"TO DAY AND TO-MORROW."

Such are the two crises of occasion and contrast between which we are now halting as for our life;—the present and future of our destiny and fortunes;—that which is and that which is to come;—our own experience and our expectations;—our position and our prospects;—our condition and its consequences;—our heritage and our hopes;—our actions and their issues;—the instant and the exigent;—the actual and the imminent. Such are the authorities that have now got hold of us, one on each arm, like two police officers, dragging us away to judgment.

"To-day and To-morrow"! Like cause and effect, these two affinities are and ever must be united. Like father and son, they have close relations. What to-day wins, to-morrow will spend or concentrate; and what to-day weaves, to-morrow will wear, whether shabby or not; and in no relations is it truer than in those of a nation's development, that "the sins of the fathers are visited on the children." Certainly, in our case "the fathers" left an unmistakable legacy of sorrow in that monstrous evil of slavery which has so long plagued us, and out of which has culminated at last such a fiendishness of rebellion, and such atrocity of civil war as is without a parallel in the history of nations. Out of this experience, then, we may truly say, "Sufficient unto the day—*more* than sufficient—are the evils thereof."

Within less than twenty-four hours we shall be exchanging these prayers of ours and this quiet worship for shouts, and salutations, and cannonades, and squibs, and a popular flurry, and a rushing to and fro! Instead of the soul's aspirations, sky-rockets, a balloon ascension perhaps, or the blowing of bubbles! Instead of the odor of sanctity, the smell of gunpowder and tobacco! And instead of smiting our repentant breasts, like the publican of old, and crying, "God be merciful to us, sinners and slaveholders," we shall be stalking along, exultant, under nodding plumes, with military parade, in long processions, self-inflated, and forgetful of our misdeeds amid the confusion of our civic demonstrations. With the uprising of to-morrow's sun, this proud old country of ours will be (if we measure her age politically by that great era of the day we shall celebrate) eighty-eight years old;—past the "fourscore" limitation assigned to *individual* life, you see; old enough to know better and be better than she is or has been;—something of a vixen withal, in time past, as she has wielded the rod over some classes of her poorer children and dependents;—getting to be rather gray-headed and wrinkled by her dissipations and termagant habits, and, just now, a little red in the face, partly from shame, and partly by her scolding and quarrelling, and the unavoidable use of her broom against the vermin of her household,—this sweeping away of traitors and copperheads! And, certainly, no flourish of trumpets to-morrow, no explosion of fire-crackers, and no grandiloquent or spread-eagle exhibitions of our national greatness, in fourth of July orations, can hide, even from ourselves, much less from others, the fact that we *are* thus, as "a house divided against itself," that we are and have been but too long degraded by such notorious and demoralizing influences as slavery, intemperance, and that unsatiable appetite and craving for wealth and domination which underlie and stimulate all these enormities. And so, verily, as God is just, there must ever come, and is sure to come, a reckoning with us for these great wrongs, sooner or later, to-day or to-morrow. Yea, even now are we answering for them, in all the tumults and terror of our battle-fields at the South, the death-groans of our dying sons there, the hecatombs of every hour, the blood-red revelations of every passing day, the care-worn, wasted, mutilated forms of the dear youth who come back to us from those fields of carnage; the cold, lifeless, and blood-stained bodies returned to so many a mourning family. Ah, yes! we see the working of this "Nemesis" in all the sackcloth, sadness, and sorrowing faces of so many bereaved, and in all the strictures on our social relations; in the embarrassments and the breakings up of our domestic ties, the crippling of our commerce, the morbid inflation of our financial resources, the rupture of our Federal bond, the devastation and waste of property all through the land. And, much as I sympathize with these reverses, trials and troubles, whether to the individual or to the community and people at large, I declare to you, before God, I believe we are now reaping only what we had sown, and are but suffering what we might have expected.

Believing as I do in the necessity of a loftier Christian morality in society,—holding to the conviction that never safely can justice and right be compromised or separated from the national any more than the individual soul, I must express here my conviction that the sufferings of this nation for to-day are but legitimate in the ways and workings of a divine Providence. In the annals of all nations, we have seen how Rome, in her career of conquest, carried her triumphs, laden with the spoils and trophies of all climes, clear round the globe, and then fell crushed beneath her own chariot wheels; how CORINTH was smothered beneath the accumulation of her own luxuries; how CARTHAGE came to be the prey of factions; and BABYLON, the victim of a selfish and licentious rule. And by what principle of exemption or by what reversion of law can we hope for immunity from the same tragical end, if we *will* go the same suicidal and tragical way!

It is true that, by our bitter experience, we have learned, and are, every day, learning some very good lessons of wisdom under the fierce lashing and drift of this execrable rebellion. But we have got a good deal more to learn yet, and a good deal more to do before we shall come to a realizing sense of what is called, well enough, in the expressive language of the church, a "saving grace," or a "saving conviction;" and still more before we can march boldly up to the reconstructive purpose of giving no quarter to the "sum of all villanies." We have got to strike boldly at the "tap-root" of all our troubles. And let me say that very prominent among the past and present symptoms of our national disease I designate what I am almost tempted to call the great grandmother of slavery itself—that insatiable spirit of avarice and greed which pures so incessantly into the very soul and marrow of our community. I need not dwell on this by any length of detail or illustration, but only to ask—in what other motive than this has slavery ever found either its fountain-head or apology? What else but this was it which, for so many years, sent slave ships to Africa, and wound so in serpent folds and with crushing coils around the body of the poor African, to squeeze a dollar more or less out of his miserable toil-worn flesh! Why, this element of American society had got to be so notorious that foreigners declared they could readily distinguish an American wherever they met him, by the way he handled his money and made his bargains; by the cunning craftiness of his speculations and the adroitness of his manœuvres. They even tell a story of a New England missionary in India, who, not having succeeded so well as he expected in his efforts to convert the heathen of that region, actually made a contract to run for them the car of Juggernaut by steam! Now, this may be an exaggerated or extreme statement; and yet from what we all know of the versatility of that "*genus homo*" so accused, we cannot but think it a possible case. At any rate, it serves to illustrate the principle, or the want of principle, under our notice.

To my mind, one of the most momentous indications of our time is this absorption of men, the multitude of men, in the mere outward, the perishing, the transient, the evanescent,—that ceaseless passion for accumulation, the drudgery of money-making, this constraint and tugging of the soul upon the material and superficial, the predominant thought and passion of self-aggrandizement in this world, because it subordinates the eternal and higher interests of another world. And out of this low passion there is every day growing among us an endless and turbulent competition, a jostling of separate and personal interests, invidious discords, conflicts, and collisions,—a warring of all the elements in society manifest in the various relations of business, politics, religion, and the unprincipled struggle for office. Hence the want of harmony, unity, and composure we see in the great forces which are agitating society. Contentions, jarring and discontent must, of course, be the result where the spirit of society and the spirit of Christianity are not in accordance. When the angels of heaven and the demons of earth come thus to their wrestling and the last grapple, though the issue may be more or less prolonged, it cannot be a doubtful one. The spirit of justice and righteousness must triumph eventually; and, clash as we may with our scymetars of worldliness against the "sword of the Spirit," we shall come off, sooner or later, prostrate, fatigued, and with the mere fragments of broken blades in our grasp! Some future time we call *to-morrow* will reveal the consequences of that struggle, and of that resistance we have so madly offered to the right; and though the end is not yet, we may see it in the light of experience as if it were. The sword of an infinite justice was never yet wrenched out of the Almighty's hand; and not all the powers of earth and hell, and the Southern rebellion combined, can avail to turn its edge, or make any gaps in it. In the providence of God, for a little while the unrighteous may *seem* to prevail, while the cause of truth and the companies of the innocent seem overridden and borne down by the hosts of oppression; but wait God's time and watch his workings, and you shall see the tide of battle turning gloriously under his majestic leading, while the injured are uplifting again their falling standards. God never yet suffered the righteous to be forsaken, or to perish utterly; and though such may often seem to be their fate, almost smothered beneath a load of injustice, yet, sooner or later, God himself will arise in all the might of infallible equity to redeem and to rescue. Iniquity may, indeed, seem triumphant to-day, but be assured it is only for to-day, and its retribution will come rolling in like a thunder-storm to-morrow!

Here, for instance, is this fratricidal war with the South, into which, for three years past, we have been plunged by the insanity of a pro-slavery despotism there, a war full of unparalleled horrors, and in which the scales of success, like the pendulum of a clock, have seemed, till of late, to oscillate about even on one side or the other. But who can doubt on which side, ultimately, the beam shall fall and fix itself, held as it is in the steady hand of that Almighty Providence which never yet suffered wickedness to fully triumph? Who can doubt that, under his verdict, injustice must be subjugated, and the great cause of humanity be ascendant? Nevertheless, we are not without dangers in our path, and certainly not without corresponding obligations and duties pressing on us. The prominent and most urgent responsibility of the hour is, that the conflict into which we have been so constrained to enter be resolutely carried through to its righteous issues; and then that the people at large, through their representatives, reconstruct the shattered Union on a more equitable basis than ever before;—that we all seek, and with all our hearts and souls, so to reorganize our disjointed republic,—so to refine, elevate, justify, moralize, and spiritualize our political motives, aims, and suffrages,—that never again shall there be occasion or chance for a pro-slavery usurpation to trouble us;—in short, that we so completely eradicate all unjust enactments from our civil code and constitution, and so completely encase it, as with the "armor of God," by a truly Christian policy, that never again can treason find an opening or a crevice in the joints of *that* harness through which to wound us.

That old tyranny of selfish conservatism against which we have so long contended, though it may work under the loftiest steeple of the church, or be entrenched beneath all the pomp and prestige of civil authority, can never be successful in the long run against the high-toned moral influences of the people, or the counterbalancing forces of such liberty-loving and true men as they may put into power, when once they are wide awake to this conviction of their duty. It is foredoomed to a certain defeat by such antagonisms. Yes, they who fight against philanthropic principle, or the great rights of humanity, *must* fail at last, because they contend against Heaven itself. The mortification of entire failure will take possession of their spirits, as the hungry rat on the Island of St. Helena ran away with the embalmed heart of Napoleon at midnight. While, on the other hand, the champions of right principle, though for long years encompassed and hindered by difficulties, though borne down by many a prejudice and harassed by countless oppositions, will gain, and keep, and consummate their victory in God's own time. It may not be "to-day"; but in their patient, persistent workings and prayers, there is the ever-living hope of a millennium; and while "to-day" they utter that petition to the Father of all, "May thy kingdom come," we may see the surety of its coming "to-morrow" in the kindling and gracious energy of their words and deeds.

O, friends! how deeply interwoven with our future prospects are our present principles! How dependent on the purposes and practice of "to-day" are the issues of "to-morrow"! God grant us so to be elevated and redeemed by his spirit and power that we may have, as a people, a loftier comprehension of our mission and duty in these hours of our nation's peril! May he give us a still deeper impression of the responsibility now laid upon us—the duty of reconstructing, remodelling, saving our wounded and dismembered republic! With his love to light and guide us, let us make a true, religious, moral, intellectual, national, individual culture the basis and condition of our prosperity.

How apposite for these times and for our subject are these lines of Gerald Massey, written years ago, and with which I close:—

"Our birds of song are silent now,
There are no flowers blooming!
Yet life beats in the frozen bough,
And Freedom's spring is coming!
And Freedom's tide comes up alway,
Though we may strand in sorrow;
And our good bark, aground to-day,
Shall float again to-morrow.

Through all the long, dark night of years
The people's cry ascendeth;
And earth is wet with blood and tears—
But our meek sufferance endeth.
The few shall not forever sway,
The many wail in sorrow;
The powers of hell are strong to-day,
But Christ shall rise to-morrow.

Though hearts brood o'er the past, our eyes
With smiling features glisten!
For, lo! our day bursts up the skies!
Lean out your souls, and listen!
The world rolls Freedom's radiant way,
And ripens with her sorrow;
Keep heart! who bear the cross to-day
Shall wear the crown to-morrow!

O Youth! flame earnest, still aspire,
With energies immortal!
To many a heaven of desire,
Our yearning opes a portal!
And though ago wearies by the way,
And hearts break in the furrow,
We'll sow the golden grain to-day,—
The harvest comes to-morrow.

Build up heroic lives, and all
Be like a sheathen sabre,
Ready to flash out at God's call,
A chivalry of labor!
Triumph and Toil are twins; and aye
Joy sunns the cloud of sorrow;
And 'tis the martyrdom to-day
Brings victory to-morrow!"

MANIFESTO OF THE REBEL CONGRESS.

[From the Richmond Whig.]

The following joint preamble and resolution, with the annexed manifesto, were introduced into the Senate by Mr. Hill, of Georgia, adopted in secret session, and sent to the House on Friday night. The House, after a secret debate of several hours' duration, adopted them substantially as they came from the Senate, with some slight modification of language. The injunction of secrecy having been removed from this important document by the House, though not by the Senate, we lay it before our readers this morning:

JOINT RESOLUTION DECLARING THE DISPOSITION OF PRINCIPLES AND PURPOSES OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES IN RELATION TO THE EXISTING WAR WITH THE UNITED STATES.

Whereas, it is due to the great cause of humanity and civilization, and especially to the heroic sacrifices of their gallant army in the field, that no means consistent with a proper self-respect and the approved usages of nations should be omitted by the Confederate States to enlighten the public opinion of the world as to the true character of the struggle in which they are engaged, and the dispositions, principles and purposes by which they are actuated. Therefore,

Resolved, by the Congress of the Confederate States of America, That the following manifesto be issued in their name, and by their authority, and that the President be requested to cause copies thereof to be transmitted to our commissioners abroad, to the end that the same may be laid before foreign governments:

Manifesto of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, Relative to the Existing War with the United States.

The Congress of the Confederate States of America, acknowledging their responsibility to the opinion of the civilized world, to the great law of Christian philanthropy, and to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, for the part they have been compelled to bear in the sad spectacle of war and carnage which this continent has for the last three years exhibited to the eyes of afflicted humanity, deem the present a fitting occasion to declare the principles, the sentiments and the purposes by which they have been, and are still, actuated.

They have ever deeply deplored the necessity which constrained them to take up arms in defence of their rights, and of the free institutions derived from their ancestors; and there is nothing they more ardently desire than peace, whenever their enemy, by ceasing from the unhallowed war waged upon them, shall permit them to enjoy in peace the sheltering protection of those hereditary rights and those cherished institutions. The series of successes with which it has pleased Almighty God, in so signal a manner, to bless our arms on almost every point of our invaded border since the opening of the present campaign, enables us to profess this desire of peace in the interest of civilization and humanity, without danger of having our motives misinterpreted, or the declaration being ascribed to any unmanly sentiment, or any mistrust of our ability fully to maintain our cause. The repeated and disastrous checks, foreshadowing ultimate discomfiture, which their gigantic army, erected against the capital of the Confederacy, has already met with, are but a continuation of the same providential successes for us. We do not recur to these successes in any spirit of vain boasting, but in humble acknowledgment of that Almighty protection which has vouchsafed and granted them.

The world must now see that eight millions of people, inhabiting so extensive a territory, with such varied resources and such numerous facilities for defence as the benignant bounty of nature has bestowed upon us, and animated with one spirit to encounter every sacrifice of ease, of health, of property, of life itself, rather than be degraded from the condition of free and independent States, into which they were born, can never be conquered. Will not our adversaries themselves begin to feel that humanity has bled long enough; that tears and blood and treasure enough have been expended in a bootless undertaking, covering their own land, no less than ours, with a pall of mourning, and exposing them far more than ourselves to the catastrophe of financial exhaustion and bankruptcy, not to speak of the loss of their liberties by the despotism engendered in an aggressive warfare upon the liberties of another and kindred people? Will they be willing, by a longer perseverance in a wanton and hopeless contest, to make this continent, which they so long boasted to be the chosen abode of liberty and self-government, of peace and a higher civilization, the theatre of the most careless and prodigal effusion of blood which the world has ever seen, of a virtual relapse into the barbarism of the rude ages, and of the destruction of constitutional freedom by the lawlessness of usurped power?

These are questions which our adversaries will decide for themselves. We desire to stand acquitted before the tribunal of the world, as well as in the eyes of omniscient justice, of any responsibility for the origin or prolongation of a war as contrary to the spirit of the age as to the traditions and acknowledged principles of the political system of America.

On this continent, whatever opinions may have prevailed elsewhere, it has ever been held and acknowledged by all parties that government, to be lawful, must be founded on the consent of the governed. We were forced to dissolve our federal connection with our former associates by their aggressions on the fundamental principles of our compact of union with them; and in doing so, we exercised a right consecrated in the great charter of American liberty—the right of a free people, when a government proves destructive of the ends for which it was established, to recur to the original principles, and to institute new guards for their security. The separate independence of the States, as the sovereign and co-equal members of the Federal Union, had never been surrendered; and the pretensions of applying to independent communities, so constituted and organized, the ordinary rules for coercing and reducing rebellious subjects to obedience was a solecism in terms, as well as an outrage on the principles of public law.

The war upon the Confederates was, therefore, wholly one of aggression. On our side it has been strictly defensive. Born freemen and the descendants of a gallant ancestry, we had no option but to stand up in defence of our invaded firesides, of our desecrated altars, of our violated liberties and birthright, and of the prescriptive institutions which guard and protect them. We have not interfered, nor do we wish in any manner whatever to interfere with the internal peace and prosperity of the States arrayed in hostility against us, or with the freest development of their destinies in any form of action or line of policy they may think proper to adopt for themselves. All we ask is a like immunity for ourselves, and to be left to ourselves in the undisturbed enjoyment of those inalienable rights of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," which our common ancestors declared to be the equal heritage of all the parties to the social contract.

Let them forbear aggressions upon us, and the war is at an end. If there be questions which require adjustment by negotiations, we have ever been willing, and are still willing, to enter into communication with our adversaries in a spirit of peace, of equity, and of manly frankness. Strong in the persuasion of the justice of our cause, in the manly devotion of our citizen soldiers, and of the whole body of our people, and above all in the gracious protection of Heaven, we are not afraid to avow a sincere desire for peace on terms consistent with our honor, and the permanent security of our rights, and an earnest aspiration to see the world once more restored to the beneficent pursuits of industry and of mutual intercourse and exchanges, so essential to its well-being, and which have been so gravely interrupted by the persistence of this unnatural war in America.

But if our adversaries, or those whom they have placed in power, deaf to the voice of reason and justice, steeled to the dictates of prudence and humanity, by a presumptuous and delusive confidence in their own numbers, or those of their black and foreign mercenaries, shall determine upon an indefinite prolongation of the contest, upon them be the responsibility of a decision so ruinous to themselves, and so injurious to the interest and repose of mankind.

For ourselves, we have no fear of the result. The wildest picture ever drawn by a disordered imagination comes short of the extravagance which would dream of the conquest of eight millions of people, resolved with one mind "to die freemen rather than live slaves," and forewarned by the savage and exterminating spirit in which this war has been waged upon them, and by the mad avowals of the supporters of the worse than Egyptian bondage that awaits them in the event of their subjugation. With these declarations of our dispositions, our principles and our purposes, we commit our cause to the enlightened judgment of the world, to the sober reflection of our adversaries themselves, and to the solemn and righteous arbitrament of Heaven.

CONGRESS ADJOURNED. Both Houses of Congress finally adjourned on Monday at half-past 12 o'clock, without transacting any business of special importance except passing a bill imposing a special war tax of five per cent. on all incomes, which the President signed during the forenoon.

The President has signed the act to repeal all laws and parts of laws providing for the rendition of fugitive slaves, and in the civil appropriation bill a section to repeal the law regulating the coastwise slave trade.

All the bills passed by both Houses of Congress and presented to the President received his signature, except the bill providing republican governments overthrown or usurped by the rebellion.

☞ Hon. William Whiting, of Roxbury, the Solicitor of the War Department, has been elected President of the Pilgrim Society of Plymouth, and has accepted the office. Hon. Geo. S. Boutwell, M. C., of Groton, has been elected one of the Trustees.

EMANCIPATION CELEBRATION.

Great preparations had been made by our colored citizens to make yesterday a day of rejoicing, jubilee and proper celebration over the fact of the Emancipation Ordinance passed by the Constitutional Convention on the 9th of May, 1864. The morning opened finely, and early in the day the persons who were to participate gradually wended their way toward Congo Square, (Place d'Armes,) the ground selected for the grand gathering and delivering of addresses, where a large platform had been erected and decorated for the occasion.

Throngs of gaily dressed colored persons filled the Square long previous to the appointed time, all eagerly awaiting the different schools and the soldiery, who were to escort the distinguished guests to the platform. The greatest enthusiasm and utter good nature prevailed among all. Joy and happiness beamed on every countenance, and every few minutes rousing cheers for freedom rent the air.

When all were arrived, an appropriate prayer was offered by the Rev. Mr. Forrest. He was followed by the orator of the day, Rev. Dr. Rogers, who spoke to the satisfaction of his hearers at some length. Mr. F. Boisdoree delivered an address in French, which met with many hearty responses. The orations were listened to with intense interest and becoming propriety. So very remarkable was the decorum observed, that people, who make large pretensions to good manners, might accept a wholesome lesson from them.

On the speakers' stand we noticed General Banks and staff, Governor Hahn, Major Hoyt, and several other leading gentlemen.

Governor Hahn being loudly called for, responded in a timely speech, which brought deafening shouts from the audience.

After the ceremonies were over in the Square, all the different colored associations, schools, and several companies of colored soldiers filed out, taking up their route toward the upper portion of the city, as high as Fourth street.

The day being so excessively warm, the procession gradually grew smaller, and finally became nearly reduced to the military, who still continued on in their course, although wearied and worn with the long march and great heat.

Along the whole line of march the procession passed undisturbed, not interrupted in any way. Good order reigned throughout the entire day, much to the credit of our city.

In the evening, two or three of the associations paraded the streets, occasionally pausing where they were inclined to cheer friends.

As a general thing, the colored people were well dressed, most of them wearing our national flag and colors, making one of the most remarkable displays ever witnessed in New Orleans. Few of the participants were aware of the illuminated page they were writing in the history of America.

At midday a salute was fired by Captain Pearson's battery; and by direction of Mayor Hoyt, the church bells rang out a merry peal to add to the grand event. —*New Orleans Delta, June 12.*

SANITARY DONATIONS FROM COLORED PEOPLE.

To the Editors of the Boston Traveller:

GENTLEMEN:—A ridiculous story, which of course did not originate with you, appears in your paper of the 18th inst., to the effect that the proffered donation of $1260 75, from a colored regiment, was refused by the Sanitary Fair, just held in this city, on the ground that the dignity and respectability of the Fair might be compromised by the act.

It is a pity that stories so much at variance with facts should obtain circulation in respectable quarters.

On the evening of the 30th of May ultimo, Brig. Gen. W. A. File, commanding troops at Benton Barracks, paid to me the sum of $1260 75, being a donation for the benefit of "Freedmen," from the 68th Regiment of U. S. Infantry, (colored,) quartered at said barracks, and then performing detailed duty in and about this city. I gave Gen. P. a receipt for the money, and paid it into the Treasury of the Fair. The donation was *thankfully received*, and regarded by everybody who heard of it as a most liberal and generous act on the part of the colored troops. Nobody thought of seriously declining it; but as a Chairman of one of the departments of the Fair, who had forbidden colored persons entering his room, had resigned because the Executive Committee revoked his order, some who heard of the 68th's donation remarked, in irony, "of course, we cannot accept of it."

A large donation for the same cause was also received from the officers and members of a colored regiment at Memphis, Miss.

I wish to add, that during the preparation for our late Fair, the members of the above regiment, (the 68th U. S. Infantry,) in details, quietly and patiently labored in the loading of lumber, &c., and day by day elicited the good opinion of all concerned. They were paid for their labor, at fair prices, and generously gave to the Freedmen all they received, and more too.

The truth is, in no city of the Union, among the intelligent classes, is there less blind and foolish prejudice against the African race than here. Here their nature, capacities and interests are understood, and nowhere are they more properly and sensibly appreciated.

Yours, respectfully, S. W. ELY,
Treasurer Finance Com. Miss. Val. San. Fair.
St. Louis, June 25, 1864.

THE PIRATE ALABAMA SUNK BY THE U. S. GUNBOAT KEARSAGE! The steamship City of Baltimore brings the news of the sinking of the pirate Alabama by the U. S. Gunboat Kearsage. Nine rebels were killed and 20 wounded.

The Alabama left Cherbourg on the 19th, to engage the Kearsage, and attacked her ten miles from Cherbourg. The engagement lasted an hour and forty minutes. Both vessels made seven complete circles in manœuvring at a distance of from a quarter to half a mile. The Alabama then sunk.

The pirate Semmes and crew were nearly all saved by the English yacht Deerhound. Semmes was slightly wounded in the hand.

Before going out, the pirate left all his chronometers, sixty in number, specie and ransom bonds, at Cherbourg.

Semmes declined a public dinner at Southampton. He has gone to Paris to report to the Confederate Commissioners.

Three of the Alabama's officers and six of her crew were landed at Cherbourg from a French pilot boat, and several from the British ship Acton.

It is confirmed that no one was killed on the Kearsage, and only three seamen slightly wounded. The vessel was injured but very little.

The pirate Semmes publishes an account of the recent engagement, and says he had 9 men killed, and 20 wounded. He charges the Kearsage with continued firing after the Alabama struck her colors.

Semmes, in his official report, says that in an hour and ten minutes the Alabama was found to be in a sinking condition, the enemy's shells having exploded on her sides and between decks. For a few minutes he had hopes of reaching the French coast, but the ship filled rapidly, and her furnace fires were extinguished.

When the Alabama was perceived to be sinking, orders were given to cut loose all spars, &c., and when the vessel sunk, the sea presented almost the appearance of a pavement of human heads, seventy of which were above the water within a small space. Nearly all lives were saved, and many men generously shouted to the boats to leave them for a short time, and save those in more imminent danger. The first inquiry from the boats of the Kearsage was for Capt. Semmes. They were answered that he had gone down, and he succeded in reaching one of the boats of the Deerhound, which got up steam as soon as possible to avoid any attempt on the part of Captain Winslow to make prisoners of those she had saved.

The *Tribune's* Washington dispatch says Commander Winslow has been recommended for promotion to a Commodore.

☞ The Southampton correspondent of the London *Daily News* says: "Mr. Lancaster of the yacht Deerhound, being requested by the commander of the Kearsage to save from drowning the Alabama's men in the water, he proceeded to do so. Passing near one of the men nearly exhausted, one man in the boat cried out, 'That's Semmes!' and the drowning man responded, 'I am the captain—save me! I can not keep up any longer.' He was dragged in, when he said, 'For God's sake don't put me on board the Kearsage, but put me on board your yacht.' This promised, and Semmes was stowed away in the bottom of a boat, and covered with a sail to conceal him from those in the Kearsage's boats, who were evidently anxiously searching for him. He was then taken to the yacht, and passed below. Mr. Lancaster soon afterwards hastened away, fearful that he might be overhauled and his vessel searched. Thus was Semmes saved from the gallows by the contemptible trick played by a friendly Englishman."

DEATH OF HON. JOSIAH QUINCY. The venerable Josiah Quincy, the illustrious patriot, statesman, scholar and sage, died at his country seat in Quincy, on Friday afternoon, in his 93d year. He died without a pain or a struggle, about 5 o'clock, P. M. Aside from the infirmities of extreme age, he had been perfectly well, and rode out the day before his death. Mr. Quincy was born in Boston, on the 4th of Feb., 1772, almost four years and a half before the Declaration of Independence. He was the son of a gentleman who stood among the foremost of those who supported the rights of the colonies, Josiah Quincy, Jr., who died off Gloucester harbor just a week after the battle of Lexington, and while on his return from England. For more than seventy years, Mr. Quincy was the head of his family, a family which has been conspicuous in the country from the early colonial times, and which is one of the few historical houses of the country.

LIBERALITY OF THE OLD BAY STATE.

Hon. Edward Everett announces in the Boston *Daily Advertiser*, that the contributions received by him for the suffering East Tennesseeans have reached the amount of $100,000, the sum which it was first proposed to secure to them by State legislation. In making the announcement, Mr. Everett says:

"In addition to the sum of one hundred thousand dollars contributed in money, articles of clothing valued in the aggregate at some thousands have been received and forwarded. Nor must the assiduous labor of the Ladies' Boston Sewing Circle, in making up two thousand dollars' worth of materials of clothing, and of other smaller sewing circles in town and country, be forgotten."

Thus have men, women and children, the millionaires and the humble peasantry of good old Massachusetts, made common cause in behalf of the robbed and suffering loyalists of East Tennessee. A feeling of attachment and sympathy has thus been created that will effectually obliterate old prejudices, and cement the prospective Union under the banner of universal liberty.

We notice by the same paper, that the subscriptions for the sick and wounded soldiers, started simultaneously with the present campaign of Gen. Grant, is rapidly approaching $100,000. This, taken in connection with the noble offering she laid upon the table of the Sanitary Commission, as the proceeds of the recent Fair, looks as though the Boston people loved to give. Such a people are worthy to live under the shadow of Bunker Hill—worthy ancestors of a race that made immortal the plains of Lexington, and gave inspiration to the brick walls of old Faneuil Hall.—*Claremont Advocate.*

RESIGNATION OF SECRETARY CHASE. The country was taken by surprise last week, by the announcement of the resignation of Hon. Salmon P. Chase as Secretary of the Treasury, and the nomination of Ex-Governor Todd, of Ohio, as his successor. The reasons for this movement have not transpired, although speculations are numerous. In the ability and purity of character of the retiring Secretary, the country had the fullest confidence, and he leaves an unsullied name as a cabinet officer and a man. Governor Tod declined the nomination, and the President then nominated Hon. William Pitt Fessenden, the Senator from Maine, who was immediately and unanimously confirmed. Mr. Fessenden is one of the ablest men in the United States, and has had great experience as a legislator and statesman.

WASHINGTON, July 5. Secretary Fessenden was sworn into office at noon to-day, and introduced to the Treasury employees by Secretary Chase. He soon afterwards attended his first Cabinet meeting.

Advices from the army state that Gen. Grant has again demanded the surrender of Petersburg and given notice for the women and children and other non-combatants to leave it. No answer had been returned when the boat left City Point.

THE RIGHT OF COLORED PEOPLE TO RIDE IN STREET CARS. The Police Commissioners of New York had before them, on Wednesday, the case of policeman Tyler, who was charged by Ellen Anderson with having forcibly ejected her from an Eighth Avenue railroad car. The complainant is the widow of Sergeant Anderson, and the circumstances of the case are fresh in the recollection of our readers. The *Times* says:—

"The forcible ejection was proven, as was the fact that no rule of the company existed excluding colored people from the cars. Mr. Whitehead, who appeared for the complainant, stated that there was no feeling against the officer, who had acted probably as he thought was his duty; but the purpose was to test the right of the police in such matters, and if they had no right to act as this officer did, then, by a proper punishment, to prevent the recurrence of such wrongs. Commissioner Acton held that the officer had committed a breach of the peace, there being no law against these people using the cars, and none to warrant his conduct. Sentence was postponed, in order for a full board to decide what it should be."

☞ The managers of the Eighth Avenue Railroad, New York, have rescinded their obnoxious order excluding respectable people of color from their cars. The Sixth Avenue Company is now the only one that persists in thrusting colored people from their cars.

☞ Mr. M. D. Conway, an eccentric gentleman now in England, who wrote an absurd letter to James M. Mason some months ago, offering to make terms on the part of the Abolitionists with the rebels, is writing absurd letters against Mr. Garrison. The *Anti-Slavery Standard* thus disposes of Mr. Conway:

"A friend, who has strong claims upon our courtesy, asks us to print the following extract from one of Mr. Conway's letters to the *Commonwealth*. It is colored by the extravagance which usually mars the productions of the writer, and illustrates his tendency to make wide and hasty inferences from isolated and exceptional facts, without fairly weighing all the circumstances belonging to the case. The recollection of his correspondence with the Confederate envoy, Mason, should teach Mr. Conway to be modest in his judgments and sparing in his rebukes of other Abolitionists, especially of so old and tried a soldier of freedom as Mr. Garrison."—*Philadelphia Press.*

POLITICAL. The St. Louis *Democrat* gives a list of twenty-one radical papers in Missouri that support Lincoln and Johnson. When the list is completed, it will comprise about three-fourths of the entire press of the State.

The Sixth Tennessee Cavalry have passed a series of resolutions endorsing Lincoln and Johnson.

Wendell Phillips says in a recent letter: "I am not myself a voter, and could neither give nor take office under the present Constitution." With what propriety can such a man assume to act in a Republican convention?—*Boston Journal.*

THE PRESIDENT CHEERED. The following pleasing incident occurred during President Lincoln's visit to Gen. Grant's army:—

"The noticeable feature of the ride was the passing of a brigade of negro troops. The troops were lounging by the roadside, but seemed to know by instinct who was approaching. They came rushing, and almost to the horses feet, by hundreds, screaming, yelling, shouting, 'Hurrah for the Liberator!' 'Hurrah for the President!' and were perfectly wild with excitement and delight. It was a spontaneous outburst of genuine love and affection for the man they look upon as their 'deliverer from bondage,' and their wild huzzas were perfectly deafening. The President uncovered his head as he rode through their ranks, and bowed on every hand to his sable admirers."

☞ The Washington *Star* says that since Gen. Grant crossed the Rapidan, he has captured over thirty stand of rebel colors and about 17,000 prisoners, not including those captured within the last four or five days, while his own loss in prisoners is less than one-third that number.

The rebels pay no respect to our hospital flags, and on Thursday last they fired upon one of our hospital trains from a battery stationed near Petersburg, killing and wounding several horses, but fortunately doing no injury to the occupants of the ambulances. On Friday afternoon they again fired upon another train, but their shots fell short of the mark.

☞ During a debate in the Senate last week, Mr. Wilson stated that since the commencement of the rebellion, between 1,700,000 and 1,800,000 men have been enlisted in the three years' service in the armies.

☞ The *Black Warrior* is the title of a newspaper recently started by the colored soldiers at Fort Parapet, Louisiana. An editorial treats upon the Fort Pillow massacre. "They have flung down the gauntlet, and we accept it," is the language of the editor.

☞ Henry W. Johnson, of Canandaigua, N. Y., a colored man, was admitted to the bar in Rochester, recently.

☞ There has been a tremendous accident on the Grand Trunk Railway, in Canada. An emigrant train, with 345 Germans, was run over a bridge, on the morning of the 29th of June, and 170 persons were killed or wounded. The accident occurred at St. Hilaire, less than twenty miles from Montreal.

☞ President Lincoln has sent to the Senate a most emphatic denial of the charge that our Government has sought to obtain recruits in any part of the dominions of her Britannic Majesty, or in any foreign country. Not only has Government not recruited in foreign countries, but it has positively and absolutely withheld all permission to engage in foreign recruiting whenever its authority to engage therein has been sought.

☞ Smith O'Brien is dead. His death is something that Ireland will easily survive.

☞ Colonel Andrew J. Polk, a brother of the Bishop General, has come into our lines, and given up the fight.

☞ The Cincinnati *Times* states that the fortifications around that city cover an area of nine miles, have eighty pieces of cannon of large calibre, and two hundred rounds of ammunition to each gun.

☞ Leaders of the peace democracy have had a meeting in New York, under the patronage of Fernando Wood. They go for unconditional surrender to the rebels, believing that all men are as fond of the yoke as themselves.—*Traveller.*

☞ Two thousand eight hundred and ninety-six persons have been saved from death by shipwreck on the British coasts by what is called a mortar and rocket apparatus.

☞ HENRY C. WRIGHT will speak in Chelsea, Sunday, July 17.

☞ GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq., of England, will, by invitation, give an address to the citizens of Northampton, in the Town Hall, on Saturday evening, 16th inst. He will also give a discourse at Florence, on Sunday forenoon, 17th inst.

☞ MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., has removed to 2 Dover street. Particular attention paid to Diseases of Women and Children.

References.—Luther Clark, M. D.; David Thayer, M. D. Office hours from 2 to 4, P. M.

MR. AND MRS. D. MACK'S
Family Boarding-School for Young Ladies,
AT ORCHARD HILL, BELMONT, MASS.

THE School will commence the last Monday of September.
Circulars and references when requested.
July 8. 3m

Portrait of William Lloyd Garrison.

THE subscriber has in preparation a large and elegant lithographic Portrait of Mr. Garrison, from an original crayon drawing by Thomas M. Johnston, which he believes he is safe in asserting will be, in all respects, the most satisfactory portrait of this distinguished advocate of impartial freedom ever offered to the public.

Size of print 21 by 27 inches. Price $1.50 for India Proof copies, which will be sent by mail, free of postage, on receipt of price.

A liberal discount to agents.

CHARLES H. BRAINARD.
May 20. tf

A. J. GROVER,
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW,
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA.

☞ Special attention given to securing and collecting claims for Eastern Merchants.

References:
WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., Boston.
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May 20. tf

MASON & HAMLIN'S
CABINET ORGANS.

Every Church, Sunday School and Private Family
MAY HAVE
A GOOD ORGAN

AT a very moderate cost—$85, $100, $110, $135, $165, $260, and upward, according to number of Stops and style of case.

They are elegant as pieces of furniture, occupying little space, are not liable to get out of order, and every one is warranted for five years.

THE CABINET ORGANS,

ntroduced about a year since, and manufactured exclusively by MASON & HAMLIN, have met with success unprecedented in the history of musical instruments. Supplying a long-felt want, they have been received with the greatest pleasure by the musical profession and the public, and have already been very widely introduced, and the demand for them is still rapidly increasing, and must continue to increase as their merits become known. They are to private houses,

For the Liberator.

MOONRISE.

BY ALMIRA SEYMOUR.

O, have you seen the Moonrise
Over the summer sea,
Bridging the wave with living light,
Then leaping full and free,
Like the great, glowing heart of youth,
Up from the shining tide,
Onward its course and upward still,
Casting all shades aside?
O, I have seen the Moonrise over the summer sea,
Till sky and ocean, earth and air, were all baptized with me.

Say, have you seen the Moonrise
Over a dewy lawn,
Where fire-flies gem the velvet shade
Till paled by this sweet dawn;
Then tangled braids of light and gloom
Through breathing shrubbery stray,
As if the ebon locks of night
Were streaked with glorious gray?
O, I have seen the Moonrise over a dewy lawn,
Till in my soul celestial peace was from the influence born.

And have you seen the Moonrise
Behind the grand old trees
Which slowly wave their mighty arms
To the cool evening breeze;
While baffled, beamy arrows strive
To dart the openings through,
And every giddy leaf's alive
With the glad contest too?
Ah, I have seen the Moonrise thus baffled in soft play,
Till on the conquered conqueror's brow at length her pure crown lay.

But now I see the Moonrise
Above a high brick wall;
Slowly, reluctantly it creeps,
And the pale, sad rays fall
Like smiles from pitying angel hearts
Down on a world of pain,
Striving to sanctify the ills
They strive to cure in vain.
Yes, now I watch the Moonrise up stately city walls,
But wait its slow, late coming till midnight's mantle falls.

Ah, as I watch the Moonrise
Up our cool Northern sky,
I think of sultry Southern plains
Where my brave brothers lie;
Each ghastly face more ghastly
In the mysterious ray
That haunts still beating hearts with thoughts
Of dear scenes far away.
Ah, *as they* watch the Moonrise, 'tis with a wordless pain—
The stream, the rock, the roof it lights they ne'er may see again.

O, Moon, so calm and clear-eyed,
Sailing the unsoiled blue,
Art thou not wearied with the wo
Spread out beneath thy view?
Wouldst thou not gladly lose thee
In the far depths above,
Where every form is beauty,
And every life is love?
Hush! Comes the heavenly answer—"O, faithless one, be still!
The eye that looketh from *above* sees good in every ill."

10 Temple Place, Boston, June, 1864.

THE RETURN OF THE BIRDS.

BY WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.

I hear, from many a little throat,
A warble interrupted long;
I hear the robin's flute-like note,
The bluebird's slenderer song.

Brown meadows and the russet hill,
Not yet the haunt of grazing herds,
And thickets by the glimmering rill,
Are all alive with birds.

O Choir of Spring, why come so soon?
On leafless greve and herbless lawn
Warm lie the yellow beams of noon;
Yet winter is not gone.

For frost shall sheet the pools again;
Again the blustering East shall blow,
Whirl a white tempest through the glen,
And load the pines with snow.

Yet, haply, from the region where,
Waked by an earlier spring than here,
The blossomed wild-plum scents the air,
Ye come in haste and fear.

For there is heard the bugle-blast,
The booming gun, the jarring drum,
And on their chargers, spurring fast,
Armed warriors go and come.

There mighty hosts have pitched the camp
In valleys that were yours till then,
And Earth has shuddered to the tramp
Of half a million men.

In groves where once ye used to sing,
In orchards where ye had your birth,
A thousand glittering axes swing
To smite the trees to earth.

Ye love the fields by ploughman trod;
But there, where sprouts the beechen spray,
The soldier only breaks the sod
To hide the slain away.

Stay, then, beneath our ruder sky;
Heed not the storm-clouds rising black,
Nor yelling winds that with them fly;
Nor let them fright you back.

Back to the stifling battle-cloud,
To burning towns that blot the day,
And trains of mounting dust that shroud
The armies on their way.

Stay, for a tint of green shall creep
Soon o'er the orchard's grassy floor,
And from its bed the crocus peep
Beside the housewife's door.

Here build, and dread no harsher sound,
To scare you from the sheltering tree,
Than winds that stir the branches round,
And murmur of the bee.

And we will pray, that ere again
The flowers of autumn bloom and die,
Our generals and their strong-armed men
May lay their weapons by.

Then may ye warble, unafraid,
Where hands, that wear the fetter now,
Free as your wings shall ply the spade,
And guide the peaceful plough.

Then, as our conquering hosts return,
What shouts of jubilee shall break
From placid vale and mountain stern,
And shore of mighty lake!

And midland plain and ocean-strand
Shall thunder—"Glory to the brave,
Peace to the torn and bleeding land,
And freedom to the slave!"

March, 1864. —*Atlantic Monthly for July.*

ODE FOR THE PHILADELPHIA FAIR.

BY OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

Why in these breathless, sleepless times,
When every hour is like an age,
Should poets pair the rusted rhymes
That climb in every school-boy's page?
Are these the days for idle song?
Are these the nights to doze and dream,
When all our fiery manhood throngs
A perilled nation to redeem?
Yet blame not him whose slender tone
Blends with the stirring battle-call:
'Twas but a crooked ram's horn blown—
Down crashed the godless heathen's wall!
A word of cheer may nerve the blow
That turns the conflict's trembling scale,
And he that never saw his foe
May pierce him through his triple mail.

The Liberator.

DISCONTINUANCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE LIBERATOR:

My subscription expires with the present number. I return the bill for the coming half year, unpaid—as I do not wish to support a paper whose chief aim appears to be to help place the present occupant of the White House before the people as a man worthy of re-election.

I have been a reader of the *Liberator* for more than ten years, and a subscriber for over five years; and have till recently been well pleased with its tone and radical teachings. It felt natural for me to pass from the Chartist papers of England to the paper over which Mr. Garrison presided. I feel no pleasure in being compelled to discontinue the *Liberator*, and look elsewhere for a paper more congenial to my views. I have carefully saved every number of that paper since I commenced subscribing for it—intending to have it preserved as a treasure more precious than almost any other book I possess; but now, as it has lost its value to me, I cannot make any further addition to my file. I have looked upon the *Liberator* as the foremost paper in the advocacy of liberty and justice; but at the present time it cannot claim, with any degree of fairness, to occupy that proud position. If it have not fallen by the way, it certainly has failed to keep up with these progressive times.

How Mr. Garrison can so unblushingly stand forth as one of the most earnest champions of Abraham Lincoln is beyond my poor comprehension—a man who is always committing the most egregious mistakes, and always favorable to slavery and slaveholders—who can violate the Constitution and national laws when in the interest of the slave-loving, free negro-hating men who surround him—who is constantly trying to appease the rebels in arms rather than to subdue them; a man who, I believe, would not hesitate a moment to trample under his feet all the advantages gained during the past three and a half years, if the rebel leaders would voluntarily lay down their arms and acknowledge him as their President—i. e. President of North and South, the old Union;—a man who, to gratify his vanity, has annulled the proclamations of Fremont and Hunter; thus, I think, prolonging the war, sacrificing tens of thousands of brave men and millions of money—a man whose whole purpose seems to be to retail to his admirers an amusing joke, though on the most serious subject imaginable.

Mr. Lincoln is called honest, yet he is at the head of the most corrupt administration ever known in modern times. The patronage of the national government is more or less used to help keep the present occupants in their places; men and papers are bribed as they never were before.

It seems very difficult for me to reconcile the first thirty years of Mr. Garrison's public life with the last few months; and I question very much if the former can compensate for the latter—it is hard earned savings of more than a quarter of a century squandered in less than a year.

Mr. Garrison's reputation with the oppressed masses of England has been great in times past—his name dear to them; but I question very much if at the present time the mention of Mr. Garrison's name would bring forth the hearty cheers of those masses. There may be those who welcome his doings, but they are not those earnest, suffering millions who have loved liberty, and are as willing to die for it as to cheer the men who have braved every thing but death for it. Gen. P. Thompson, who is more a leader of the radical reformers of England than is George Thompson, receives no hearing through the columns of the *Liberator* now. It is needless to say why. He, like myself, has had to look elsewhere for a paper that would mirror his own thoughts and feelings.

The toiling millions of England can see that something in somebody is wrong, when they see Mr. Garrison standing opposed to and battling against such men as Fremont, Phillips, Cheever, Pillsbury—and against the whole of the liberty-loving Germans who have fled from tyranny at home, expecting to find freedom here.

In conclusion let me say, that I think never was there a time when the lovers of liberty should speak out against the wrongs and oppression that are endured by the people of this country, and the cruelty and wickedness of the national rulers like the present; and I like not the suppression of the Fourth of July meeting at Framingham.

Yours, truly, RICHARD T. BUCK,
of firm Buck Brother.

Worcester, June 24, 1864.

TESTIMONIES

Adopted by the Twelfth Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, recently held at Longwood, Pa.

I.—SLAVERY AND THE REBELLION.

This Society would renew its testimony, at this time, concerning the wide-spread and bloody rebellion which yet remains to be suppressed:

That it is a rebellion, not on the part of the OPPRESSED, to redress long-endured wrongs and to vindicate their inalienable rights, but by a haughty and merciless SLAVE OLIGARCHY, to perpetuate their terrible domination over the hapless victims of their slaveholding cupidity, to strike a deadly blow at the cause of freedom throughout the world, and to substitute for the civilization of the nineteenth century the barbarism of the darkest ages:

That not one of the numerous allegations of these conspirators against the Government of the United States and the people of the North is founded in truth; but, on the contrary, they are as malicious in spirit as they are diabolical in design; so that the so-called Confederate States stand revealed to the world as utterly without excuse on any principles of revolution or resistance recognized by mankind:

That, as the tree is known by its fruits, so the rebellion shows its true character by the shocking perfidies and savage atrocities committed under its flag:

That, therefore, all the pulsations of the human heart for liberty, justice, humanity, and the triumph of the right, must beat strongly in opposition to this unhallowed attempt to deny to the people the right of self-government, to deprive them of the right to choose their own rulers as against hereditary succession and tyrannical usurpation, and to eternize slavery:

That those at the North who, under the mask of loyalty, are endeavoring to baffle the efforts of the government to suppress the rebellion, who are openly giving their sympathy and covertly their aid to the rebels, and who are busily engaged in blackening the character of President Lincoln and breaking down his administration for the same evil purpose, are deserving of even heavier condemnation than those at the South who glory in their treason, and boldly subject themselves to its penalty:

That, while this Society does not see anything in this fearful struggle to invalidate its well-known peace principles—for, had these been truly accepted and faithfully acted upon by the nation from the beginning, there could be neither slavery nor a rebellious war growing out of it—yet it believes the Government, as constitutionally organized and on its own plane of action, not only justified in putting forth its full power for the speedy suppression of this wicked revolt, but in so doing is acting in accordance with the highest convictions of duty in the minds of the people, and faithfully discharging the momentous trusts comitted to its hands:

That recreancy to cherished convictions of right, cowardice in the hour of danger, an iniquitous compromising spirit, or a selfish regard for personal safety and interests, cannot promote peace; and a people who, believing it their right and duty to defend their liberties with the sword when cloven down by the hand of tyranny, shrink from meeting the issue through base paltroonery, instead of subserving the cause of peace by such non-resistance, are directly stimulating the war spirit, and providing for a more bloody tragedy in the future:

That it behooves the whole nation solemnly to remember, that the awful judgments to which it is now subjected are the results of its oppression of an abhorred and hapless race:—"Ye have not proclaimed liberty every man to his neighbor, and every man to his brother; therefore, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine:"—hence, it ought to repent in sackcloth and ashes, and to put away its great iniquity by causing liberty to be proclaimed "throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof:"

That in this great extremity of the nation's peril and suffering, every one should be prompt to stand in his lot, and to bear his share of the public burden; and, whether men can conscientiously rally under the national flag, armed and equipped to uphold the Government, or whether they are scrupulous non-resistants, there is scope for the most active efforts on the part of all, and for the universal coöperation of all loyal souls in suppressing the rebellion, and extending liberty and peace throughout the land:

That this Society recognizes the right and the duty of the Government, under the Constitution, to order a draft where volunteering is inadequate; and, admitting the difficulty of its providing for exceptional cases of conscience without danger of abuse, nevertheless respectfully submits to the Government, in order to avoid unnecessary severity of treatment on its part, and undeserved suffering on the part of innocent individuals, the propriety of assigning to drafted non-resistants or conscientious peace men the duty of attending upon the sick or dying upon the battle-field, or in the hospitals, or performing some other service equally unobjectionable to their conscience and necessary to the State:

That, while participating in the benefits of the Government, and sympathizing in its efforts to put down the rebellion and its cause, those who are disarmed by principle should show their readiness to incur any risk or make any sacrifice, where they can consistently do so, to alleviate the horrors of the strife, and ensure the triumph of free institutions over chattel despotism.

II.—PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOR.

Among our other testimonies, we desire to add our solemn protest, not only against the system of human slavery, so long existing in the Southern States, but against the spirit of caste which that system has widely engendered throughout the North—making the former victims of bondage, such as are now happily free from the yoke, still the subjects of a prevailing prejudice that works them injury, and defeats their elevation. We declare that this prejudice is unnatural, undemocratic, and unchristian; that the statutes which are founded upon it in many of the free States are unworthy of the general free spirit of American laws, and ought to be immediately repealed; and that the Negro is entitled to the same political rights, the same impartial equality before the law, with all other classes of his fellow-countrymen. As a great step toward the attainment of this righteous end, this Society hails with satisfaction the decision of Attorney-General Bates, that the negro is rightfully recognized as a citizen of the United States; and we shall labor that the time may speedily come when all the rights, privileges and high dignities of such citizenship shall no longer be unjustly denied, but freely offered to a class of our countrymen who, having long suffered from a Government under whose laws they have been oppressed, have shown an example of magnanimity unequalled in history, by exposing their lives for the defence of that Government in its hour of peril.

III.—MEMORIALS TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled:

The Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Progressive Friends, in session at Longwood, Chester County, Pa., Sixth month, 1864, respectfully but earnestly entreats you to pass a law abolishing slavery in every part of the United States. In time of peace we could not conscientiously ask you to enact such a law; but slavery being now in open revolt against the Government, we hold that, under the powers incident to a bloody struggle for the national life, you have a clear constitutional right to destroy it, root and branch, as a nucleus of treason and rebellion; and that, as the system is at once a sin against God and a crime against man, you are under the most solemn moral obligation to exercise the power providentially placed in your hands for its extermination.

To the House of Representatives of the United States:

The Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Progressive Friends, in session at Longwood, Chester County, Pa., Sixth month, 1864, respectfully but earnestly entreats you promptly to concur in the resolution of the Senate, submitting to the several States an amendment to the Constitution, forever prohibiting slavery, and conferring upon Congress the power to provide by legislation for the enforcement of such provision.

IV.—GEORGE THOMPSON.

In view of the timely and valuable labors of our distinguished friend George, Thompson, in giving to the people of Great Britain a right view of the pending civil war in the United States, exposing the machinations of the emissaries of the Southern Confederacy in foreign lands, and rendering to the cause of the North (according to the testimony of John Bright) a more signal service than any other man in Europe; this meeting desires to add its voice to the many congratulations with which that brave and able champion of freedom has been welcomed to our shores, and to express the hope that, as he was among the earliest advocates of the abolition of slavery in this country thirty years ago, he may live to see the work to which he has devoted his life completed—every chain broken, and every slave set free.

V.—EVILS OF THE WAR.

As war, however great or beneficent its object, never fails to produce many serious evils, just in proportion to its magnitude and duration; so as the present sanguinary conflict in our land is one of almost unparalleled extent, from it we have every reason to believe will follow a vast augmentation of intemperance, profanity, licentiousness, and other vices, thereby imperilling public virtue and retarding human advancement; consequently, it behooves the friends of temperance, purity, and good morals proportionably to exert themselves to meet this influx of crime and misery by untiring vigilance, the most faithful testimonies, and the most potent instrumentalities.

VI.—THE CAUSE OF WOMAN.

On no anniversary of this association could we properly omit our testimony against all those laws, regulations and usages, whereby woman in all lands stands proscribed and depressed on account of her sex; or to claim for her the enjoyment of those rights and the possession of those privileges to which she is entitled as a human being, whose life, liberty, and welfare are involved in the destiny of society and the structure of government. It is not for man to assume her responsibilities, to exclude her from any position she is qualified to fill, to deny her any employment she can successfully pursue. To her, as freely as to him, should be opened every industrial avenue, granted every political and religious right, and made available every official station; leaving for individual endowment, culture, fitness to determine the relative avocation or eminence which each may follow or attain.

VII.—ACCEPTABLE WORSHIP.

Resolved, That it is the imperative duty of every man and woman to avail themselves of every opportunity to do good to their fellow-man; and that administering to the physical wants of the sick or wounded, pouring consolation and encouragement into the sorrow-stricken heart, and endeavoring to lift to a higher level the low and degraded, the poor and the outcast, the rejected and despised of God's children, is the most acceptable worship we can render to the Great Father of us all, and without which all other forms are as "sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal."

THE MALDEN MURDER.

WAS GREEN OF SOUND MIND?

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

We are indebted to a friend of Mr. Phillips for the following report of his speech to the Governor's Council in the case of Edward Green, now under sentence of death for the murder of Mr. Converse, of the Malden Bank.

As we understand the evidence at this time before the Council, on the point of insanity in the family of Green, these are the main facts:

By the genealogical history of the family, published some years since, it appears that mental unsoundness—in its various forms of madness, idiocy, and imbecility—have been hereditary in it. Cases both in Edward Green's direct line and the collateral lines are noted. Quite a number of names given in this book, *without comment*, have also been discovered to have been insane.

On the testimony of Messrs. Sweetser and Eaton, of South Reading, Greenwood and Redpath, of Malden, and others whose names have not yet been given to the public, these facts have been brought to light: That Green's grandfather (on his father's side) and at least *two*, some say three of his grand-uncles, were of unsound mind; as, also, two, at least, of their female children, and two of Green's uncles. Further on, the genealogy testifies to more instances.

On his mother's side, one, at least, of his uncles is under guardianship; his grandfather was insane; his grand-uncle committed suicide in a fit of insanity, and had been of unsound mind for years before. We have heard that there have been cases of insanity both in his grandmother's and great-grandmother's families, and, if it be so, this makes *four* different families in which there has been recent insanity—all of whom poured their blood into the veins of Green.

Any physiologist, with these facts before him, would not agree to give a verdict of guilty in a murder case, until the criminal's character had been *scientifically analyzed*. This is a fact applicable to to all cases; no more to Green's than any other. We understand that a physiologist and phrenologist has recently examined Green's head, *but the result has not been published*. We insist that it should be. For if it shows that Green is a perfectly capable man, the people should know it. What the public want is not that Green should be hanged or not hanged, but that justice should be done. We are willing to hear anything that Messrs. Phillips, Redpath, and Greenwood may say; but we don't want to see any evidence suppressed, either to aid them or hinder them. As all the papers have published the full evidence against Green, we have printed, on the other side, the plea of Mr. Redpath, and now insert that of Mr. Phillips. We may add that the question is widely discussed, and every one looks for the final decision of the Council with interest. We have no doubt that the Governor will do all that the cause of justice demands in the case, and have equally no doubt that his decision will be acquiesced in by all.

We understand that the evidence to prove that Green carried a pistol for more than a year before the murder is decisive. He gave his reasons for doing so at least ten months before the murder. This fact, if so, changes one aspect of the case that had an ugly look about it. We await, however, further developments. The case is destined to become a celebrated one. Pleas for Green are distributed free to all comers at Room 7, 221 Washington street, Boston.—*Boston Evening Express.*

MR. PHILLIPS'S SPEECH.

Mr. Chairman:—I am aware that this Council has nothing to do with the general objections to Capital Punishment. It can consider only those circumstances which go to show that it should not or need not be inflicted in this particular case.

In approaching these, however, allow me to make, gentlemen, one or two suggestions. The word "punishment," as applied to legal penalties, is very apt to mislead us. Human government has really nothing to do with *punishment*, using that term as meaning the *punishment of sin*. To estimate *sin*, one must know how much was resisted, as well as how much was done. To estimate *sin*, you must put into one scale constitutional bias, ignorance or education, weakness of moral nature, and into the other the force of temptation; weigh them against each other before you can decide. God alone can do that. In his sight, doubtless, one wise and well-balanced man commits as much *sin* in simply envying or maligning his neighbor, as another ignorant, life-long victim of his passions, sorely tempted, does in murdering him.

All society has to do is to *prevent evil*, not to punish *sin*. This society has undertaken to do it in two ways. First, she adopts means to prevent the same man from repeating his offence—imprisons him, for instance; and second, sometimes she hangs him, by way of example to others.

In regard to the first of these objects, no one doubts that Green can, without the use of the gallows, be effectually prevented from repeating his offence. This Commonwealth is strong enough to keep him within four walls for the rest of his life. No need to take his life, therefore, merely in order to accomplish the first result. You can, so far as he is concerned, sufficiently protect society from him without taking his life.

As to the second object of penalty, example, let me remind you that one of the best authorities on this subject, Lord Brougham, in his letter about fifteen years ago to Lord Lyndhurst, gives his opinion, and adds to it that of Lyndhurst, and most of their fellow judges, that the legal penalties, and specially hanging, have little or no effect as examples; that no judge of a criminal court attaches any value to them in that view.

Indeed, it was well said by Lord Nugent, in the House of Commons, that when government hid the gallows from the sight of all but a dozen invited spectators, it confessed that the sight of it was demoralizing; and that very concession goes far to show that the use of the death penalty *as an example* must be exploded. It is certainly incredible that to hear of an execution is a public benefit, but to *see* it is utterly and horribly demoralizing! But as this is the only benefit which you can pretend to expect from the private and secret hanging of Green, let me consider what sort of a man it is that society rears you have thus chosen for its example. In doing this, I shall suggest the reasons which convince me that, even allowing capital punishment to be good in some cases, it is wholly useless and indefensible in this case. When Dr. Webster was hung for killing Parkman, I allow that if ever hanging does good, that might. He was an educated man, living at ease, taught from early life his duties, with no great temptation to violate them. Society had done everything for him, taught him and petted him. If any one in breaking the laws sinned against light, he did. Society could say to him, "You were born with well-balanced faculties, average force; you have had good culture; you have the least possible excuse for this offence. No one can say that if I visit you with the penalty, I forget your weakness, since you have had every light and every motive to be a good man, yet you deliberately chose to be a murderer."

But most of those whom Massachusetts has hung since, have been dragged from the purlieus of grog-shops and brothels, caught in some drunken revel, children that never knew the care of parents, victims from their earliest youth of our social evils, brutally ignorant, corrupt and degraded. Such are not the materials out of which society should make examples. The first act ever society did in regard to them was to hang them. Put church and school house at the beginning of the road before you put a gallows at the end of it. I blush for the Commonwealth at the hanging of every such man. Washington Goode was such a one. Born on a raft on the Mississippi, bred in the Mexican war, entrapped in our Ann street rum shops, in a quarrel he stabbed a stranger. We put 23,000 names before Gov. Briggs, asking that his punishment be commuted. We were refused. Years have passed since, and after this interval, I say now, on deliberate reflection, what I said then, to hang such a neglected outcast was murder on the part of the State, tenfold worse than any he committed. If he had been pardoned, Prof. Webster would never have been hung. But the community which, spite of all appeals, had hung a poor, ignorant, neglected waif of a drunken negro, was ashamed even to ask the pardon of a Harvard College Professor, who in broad daylight and with deliberate plan had murdered his friend for a few dollars. Since that time the State has gone forward hanging every miserable wretch—one-half his crime the result of his neighbor's neglect and tempting of him. Against this I protest, Hang your well-to-do, well-balanced, intelligent citizens if you must, but first strive to make men of the brutes you have neglected before you hang them.

My first objection to Green's being hung is that he belongs too much to this class. His father kept a low gambling grog-shop. His mother was a sot—indecently so. This was his earliest training. He holds the office of postmaster of his village because his neighbors, in pity, deem him capable of making his bread in no other way but that simple routine.

Fully grown up, they still call him Eddy and a "boy"—weak-minded is evidently his repute with them. Fit for that post because his father in the last years of his life had habituated him to it—not an average man in intellect. Then his mother's brother is under guardianship to-day as *non compos*. Two of his father's brothers were so weak or idiotic as to have been always objects of the boys' derision in the streets. His blood cousin has been confined in an insane asylum for fifteen years. Idiocy and insanity exist in his blood, on both sides, that of his father and that of his mother, and traceable back in former generations. He himself unable to walk in his earliest years from scrofula, and then and now his head so afflicted with that dire disease as to have constant sores and running from both ears. Life-long a cripple, and a mass of disease from birth. Surely it is so possible that such a one may be mentally unsound as to cause Government to hesitate, before holding him as fully responsible as others for his acts.

But this possibility or probability becomes more evident when you watch his own course or hear the remarks of his townsmen. One of them says here, "I should as soon think of going over to the Idiot Asylum in South Boston, and hanging one of them, as hanging Ed. Green." How much of an example will the execution of such a boy be?

Mr. Redpath has gone too thoroughly into the circumstances of the case, showing the madness of Green's whole course in the murder, to need that I should follow. To kill a man in noonday, in a public bank watched by a hundred windows, then to pay the money out in masses, shows not courage but insanity.

Gentlemen, such particulars as these no words can adequately portray. Go yourselves and look at Green in the prison, judge the boy there, and if all we are told is true, you cannot look on him and not come at once to the conclusion that the shattered and diseased body—this under the average mind, is no fit material upon which to visit the awful penalty of death.

Another circumstance looks like a sudden toppling over of what poor reason the sick boy had. Mark—you except pilfering from his father chiefly—this is the *first* offence with which any one can charge Green. His *first offence*. Now, gentlemen, every man familiar with criminal courts knows that, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, criminals become so by degrees. It is extremely rare that a man's first and only offence is murder. In rare cases a man of powerful passions, hurried on by fierce excitement or terrible temptation, does stain clean hands in blood. But ordinarily this is not the case. Weak minds get by degrees hardened and corrupt. This half-foolish boy mounts at once to the horror of murder. No explanation consistent with his feebleness, cowardice and imbecility is possible except that, like many similar cases, it was the sudden outburst of his constitutional malady or bias.

The deed once done, he stays at home, engaged as usual, betraying no emotion. Such a man must be either the most hardened and accomplished villain, or callous from moral incapacity. But arrested, unlike a hardened criminal, he confesses at once, freely, with open heart. The set of circumstances find no consistent theory of explanation but mental awryness and imbecility.

Surely we may pause here; stop our unchecked career of executions, and discriminate among those technically guilty. If you must still uphold the gallows, let not the Commonwealth select its victim from among the diseased, the imbecile, the neglected, the failures of our social system.

[Since the comments we made in introducing Mr. Phillips's speech on the case of Green were in the printer's hands, we have seen Mr. Butler, (of the firm of Fowler & Wells,) a gentleman who is without doubt the first physiologist and phrenologist in the city. We enquired as to his examination of the head of Green. We found that this visit had changed his original opinion of the prisoner, formed from reading the accounts of the murder in the daily papers. We learned, also, that he had not read any thing on the other side, nor heard the arguments made before the Governor's Council.

He said that Green's brain was not more developed than is usually the case in a very stupid boy of twelve years of age; that the ulcers in the head, with which, it is said, he has been afflicted all his life, had unquestionably injured his brain, and that no physiologist would doubt for a moment, after examining him scientifically, that he was a semi-idiot. On asking for his written description, Mr. Butler kindly handed it to us, with permission to publish it. We give it in full:[]

PHRENOLOGICAL EXAMINATION
OF
EDWARD W. GREEN,
At Cambridge Jail, June 11, 1864,
BY D. P. BUTLER, *Phrenologist.*

This organization indicates weakness instead of strength, and disease instead of health.

As compared with the average of men, *inferiority* is indelibly stamped upon the entire organic structure, and in reference to both its quality and quantity. There are palpable signs of scrofulous disease, probably inherited, and sufficiently developed to indicate serious derangement of the natural functions both of the brain and the body.

To claim ordinary mental sanity, in a case of such organic imperfection, would be equivalent to ignoring or denying reciprocal relations between organic conditions and mental manifestations. The physiological condition alone considered must indicate to any competent physiologist great unsoundness both morally and intellectually. In addition to disease, it is unmistakably a case of arrested natural development—a dwarfish condition both mentally and physically. 'Considered as a whole, this is a case of *natural deficiency and disease*, instead of excessive development, and not less but more defective phrenologically than physiologically.

His brain *is small and contracted* in all its parts, except in that portion indicating the social and domestic qualities. His attachments to wife and child are strongly marked. As a whole the feelings predominate, but the selfish and criminal propensities are not larger than the moral sentiments, and not so large as the affectional propensities.

Such a head, even if well formed, would not have sufficient power to be other than the tool of circumstances, at best. But as it is formed, he is *far* from being competent, naturally, to comprehend the responsibilities or discharge the duties, morally or intellectually, of a citizen and a man.

Such a head indicates the need of a guardian to properly control, direct, and protect the individual, and for the interests of society. In point of ability, he is not dangerous; but for the *want of sufficient reason* to comprehend his responsibilities, liabilities, and duties, and in consequence of his inherited diseased condition, he needs the controlling and protecting influence of society. The cause of his crime, according to his development, was his morbid and excessive ambition and affection prompting him to provide for his family. Considering his very limited mental calibre and diseased condition, partial insanity is a legitimate presumption.

All things considered, I infer that he is the unfortunate victim of circumstances, disease, and natural deficiency, and a scientific illustration of the necessary, uniform, and reciprocal relations existing between organic deficiency and disease and mental manifestations. He should be classed with those unfortunates who are incompetent to assume the duties and responsibilities of citizenship, and be cared for and restrained by society through its humane institution.

His condition, scientifically considered, may be summed up in a few words. Physiologically, he is a *diseased dwarf*; phrenologically, an *imbecile*, morally and intellectually.

With a true appreciation of the scientific facts in the case, it is scarcely possible that the State of Massachusetts, the most enlightened Commonwealth in the world, can deliberately come to the conclusion that any of the ends of public justice can be secured by hanging such an unfortunate specimen of humanity. In the name of science, let us hope that our noble, clear-headed, and large-hearted Chief Executive will save the State from such injustice and disgrace.

THE PRESIDENT'S LATEST. The New York *Times* says that a gentleman in conversation with Mr. Lincoln, on Friday, remarked that nothing could defeat his re-election but Grant's capture of Richmond, to be followed by his nomination at Chicago and acceptance. "Well," said the President, "I feel very much like the man who said he didn't want to die particularly, but if he had to die, that was precisely the disease he would like to die of."

THE CASE OF MISS ELIZABETH GARRETT.

For the first time in England, a woman has passed a medical examination. We have repeatedly and strenuously contended for this admission of the sex to the practice of the healing art, and it is therefore with hearty satisfaction that we record this step towards the attainment of the desired result. Miss Elizabeth Garrett, whose name appears in the list of successful candidates at Apothecaries' Hall, has made earnest and unceasing efforts to secure a recognition of the right of women to use their talents in this manner for the benefit of their kind. She has appealed to the University of London and of St. Andrew's, to the College of Surgeons of London and of Edinburgh, and to the College of Physicians of Edinburgh—but all in vain. Each of these learned bodies refused to allow her to compete for the degree which would have given her a legal qualification to labor in this cure of human ills. Fortunately there was another means open to her, and she did not hesitate to avail herself of it. The license of Apothecaries Hall may not be looked upon as conferring so high a professional status as the titles granted by the other institutions which we have enumerated, but in the eye of the law it is all-sufficient, and this could not be withheld from her. The examiners there are bound to grant their certificate to all who comply with the prescribed regulations. The conditions exacted by these are by no means trivial. Five years of study must be gone through, and lectures must be attended on every subject connected with the science of medicine, surgery alone excepted. The first examination is in anatomy, physiology, chemistry, botany, and materia medica, and this Miss Elizabeth Garrett has just passed; for the final examination she cannot present herself until after a lapse of eighteen months, and if she succeeds in going through the ordeal, she will be entitled to be registered as a duly qualified practitioner. This young lady deserves infinite credit for the persistent courage with which she has struggled against obstinate opposition, and the victory which she has won will not be beneficial to herself alone. Repulsed in many quarters, she has discovered and availed herself of an opening through which woman may enter the medical profession; and now that she has led the way, many will no doubt follow in her footsteps. It must be regarded as a very fortunate circumstance that the examiners at Apothecaries Hall were not authorized by the Act from which they derive their powers to exclude any applicant on the ground of sex, for the absence of any such proviso has permitted a practical step to be taken which will no doubt bring to a speedy termination a protracted and hard-fought battle. Public opinion at the present day assuredly will not tolerate the imposition of any new disabilities upon woman, for all the tendencies of the age are in precisely the opposite direction; and there is no reason to fear that this small portal by which they may gain access to a fresh field of exertion will be closed by legislative action. But common sense certainly suggests that since, as the case now stands, woman may lawfully practise medicine, it is desirable that every means should be taken to test their qualifications, and to stamp the ablest with some mark of their superior capability. Since they cannot be shut out, the interest of the community plainly demands that they shall be let in upon such terms as will be likely to render them of the greatest service to their kind. Clearly, therefore, they should have every facility accorded to them for pursuing their professional studies under the most favorable auspices. They should have access to the best teachers, and their exertions should be stimulated by the promise of an honorary reward, which would be a perpetual token that they were entitled to the confidence of those who might stand in need of their services. This could only be done by allowing them to become candidates for degrees and diplomas in the ordinary schools. Mixed classes of men and woman would no doubt be open to grave objections, more especially in certain special departments of medical study; but this is merely a difficulty of detail, and does not affect the principle which is at stake. All that is asked for is that women shall be allowed to present themselves for examination, and that if they are successful the same result shall ensue as if they were men. How they are to obtain the necessary knowledge is quite another question, and all controversy with regard to it may be fairly adjourned until some machinery for that purpose has been proposed which is justly obnoxious to censure. We are quite aware that a feeling is prevalent in certain quarters, that it is necessarily indelicate for woman to embrace the profession of medicine. But those who hold fast to such an idea either have never learnt, or have forgotten, or wilfully ignore, the fact that female practitioners propose to deal only with the diseases of women and children. Surely it must be considered that, on the score of delicacy, it would often be much better that a woman should deal with a woman's maladies. The whole issue, however, seems to us to resolve itself into one of simple right. Here are a certain number of intellectual girls who have only their own exertions to depend upon for their subsistence, and who demand permission to use the faculties with which God has gifted them in the pursuit of an honorable and useful profession. Who is entitled to say them nay? How long are we to listen to that absurd and wicked cant about the naturally dependent position of woman, the natural fruit of which is that at the present day tens of thousands of English girls depend upon the wages of vice, while every year not a few of them who have not fallen from the status of conventional propriety profane a holy ordinance by selling themselves into matrimony for the equivalent of board and lodging? A trusting wife is a very charming and loveable object—but what an object the woman who, having been taught from her childhood that self-reliance is unfeminine, and upon that principle prevented from learning how to fight the battle of life for herself, finds herself at a ripe age with no husband to cling to, and no resource by which she can earn her own living! If people had pondered upon this latter picture a little more than they have, we should not to-day have need to signalise the passing by Miss Elizabeth Garrett of her examination at Apothecaries Hall as a step towards the consummation of a long-deferred victory.—*London Morning Star.*

THE PRESIDENT AND HIS CABINET.

On one of the walls of the "State Dining Room" in the White House, hangs a painting which is yet scarcely dry from the finishing touches of the Brooklyn artist. As a historical picture, indicating the ongoing of American freedom, it has no peer but that older one which represents the "Signing of the Declaration," July 4, 1776. It is a representation of "Reading of the first draft of the Proclamation by President Lincoln to his Cabinet." The tall, ungainly form of the President occupies the centre of the group, the thunderbolt of liberty in *his* hand; and he seems to have just finished the reading, and to be awaiting the comments of the Cabinet. Seward sits before him, his forefinger pressed upon the table, and is represented as saying, "I suggest that this proclamation be reserved until it can be issued upon the back of a military victory." Chase stands at the right of the President—calm and hopeful—apparently waiting to suggest that so important a document should contain some acknowledgment of divine guidance, and some invocation of divine guidance. Both suggestions were heeded by the President. On the one side of the President the Army watches closely through Stanton's spectacles; while on the other the Navy is anchored behind the patriarchal beard of Welles. At the other end of the table sits Mr. Bates, with conservatism speaking from every feature, and a little in the back-ground stand Secretaries Blair and Smith.

To the student of physiognomy, the picture affords a gratifying opportunity to study the individuals composing the group; but the student of history sees in it a representative of that principle which underlies the present struggle of our government, to wit:—*The Supremacy of Free Labor.* Each individual of the group is a living illustration of the power of free labor. Not many years ago, each one was a poor young man, heroically struggling for honor and for daily bread. Each is a living illustration of the opportunity a free government affords to honest worth and persistent effort. And a comparison of this group with that which convenes in the so-called Presidential Mansion at Richmond, indicates that the one is as perfect a representation of democratic as the other is of aristocratic institutions. Two bodies of men could not be formed, exhibiting in history, experiences and principles, a more perfect antipodal character than the Cabinet of Washington and Richmond. Which kind of government is to prevail on our continent?—*N. Y. Independent.*

☞ Thomas Hyer, the noted pugilist, died in New York last week.